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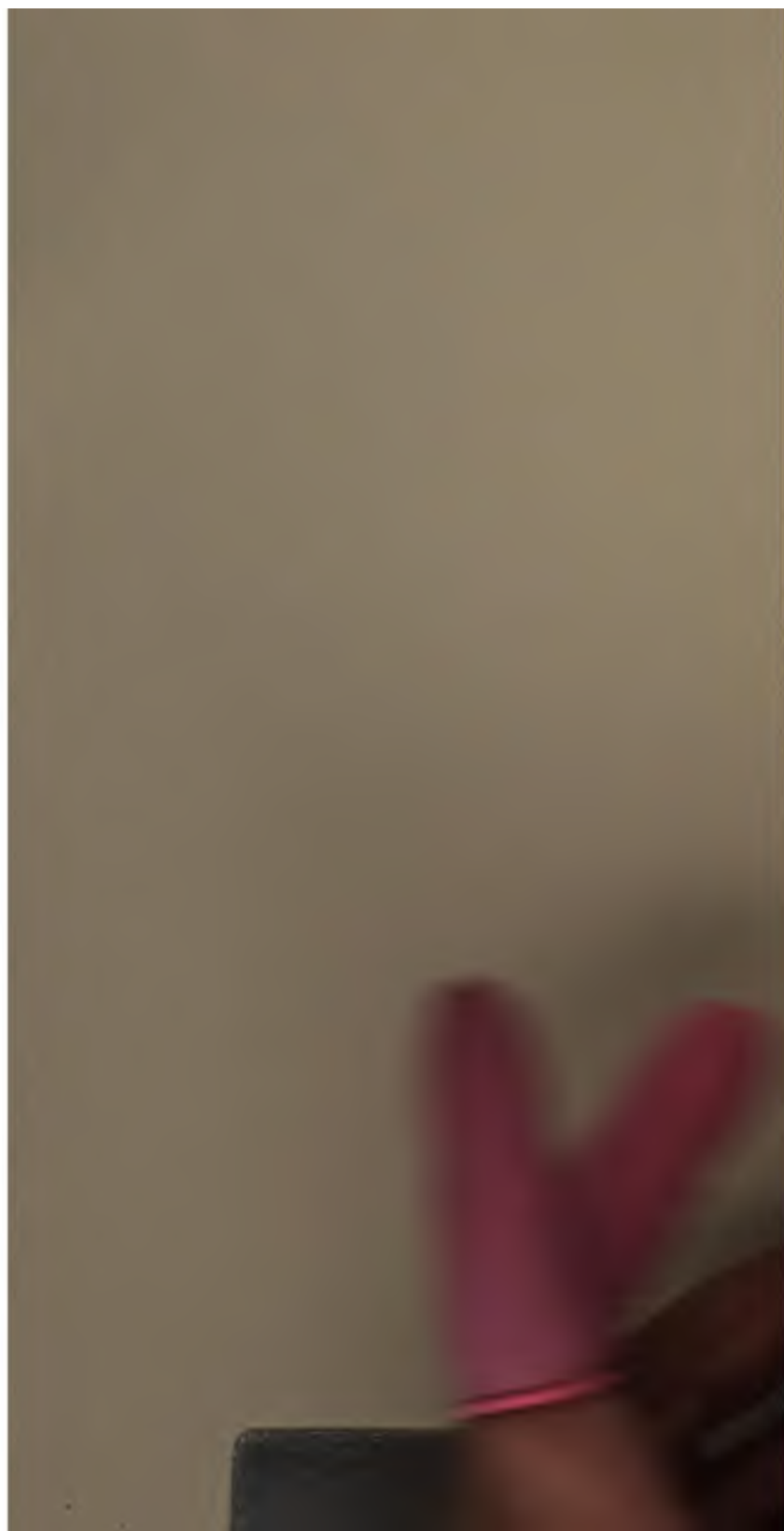
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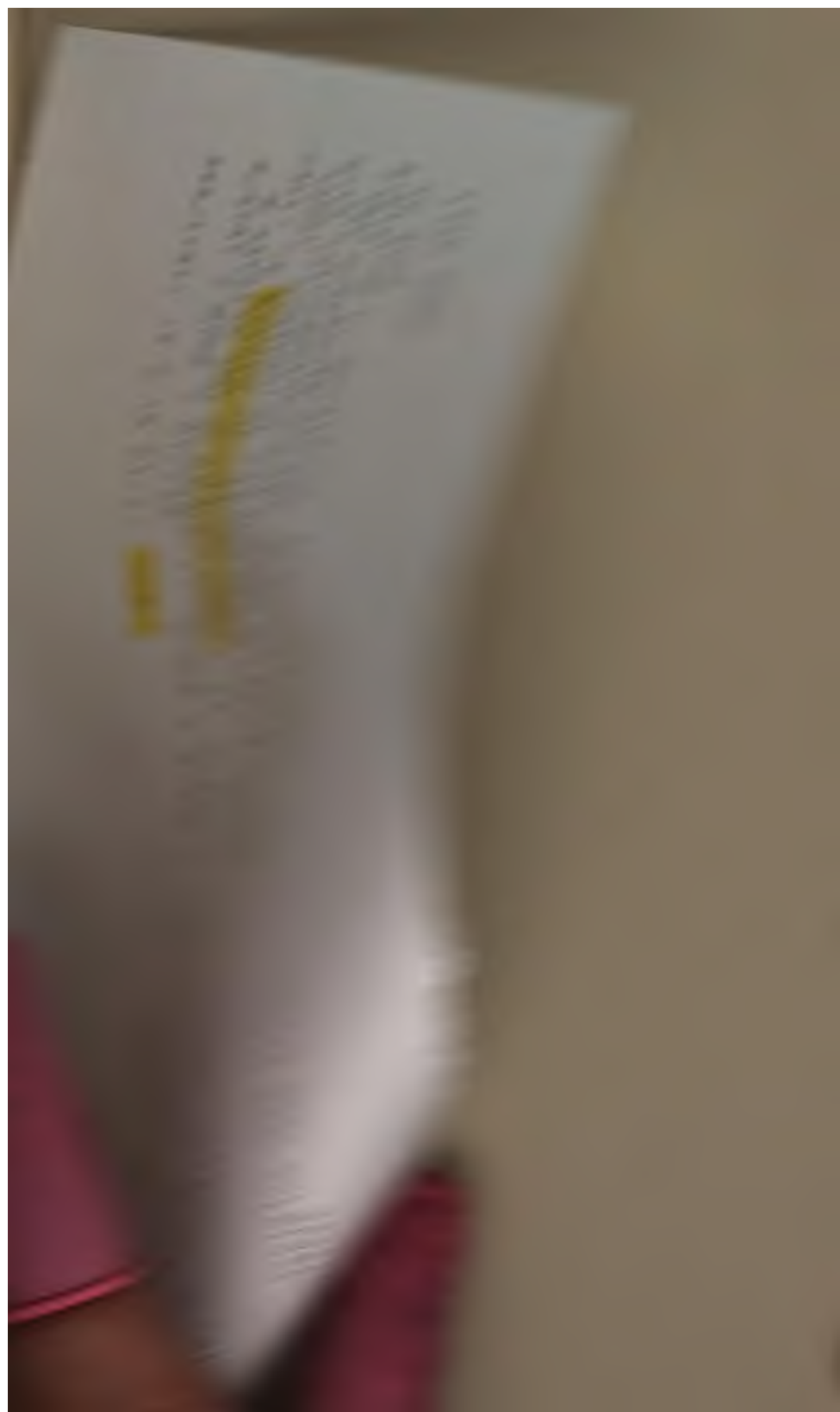
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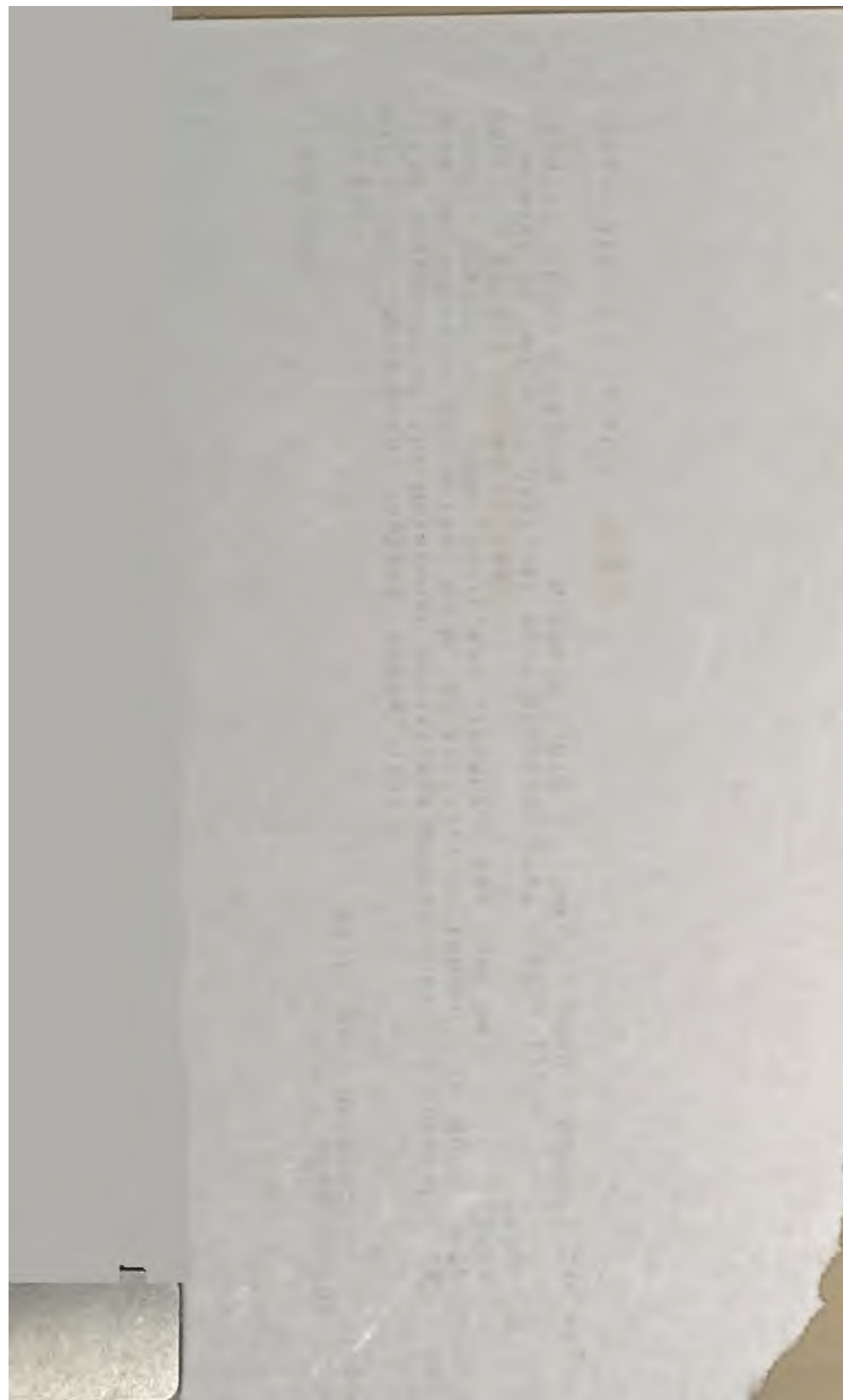
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DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH

The first volume of this work, comprising
'The Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' was
published in 1892 at 10s. 6d.

THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH

TRANSLATED AND ARRANGED
IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By W. E. ADDIS, M.A.

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

VOL. II.

The Deuteronomical Writers and
The Priestly Documents

Τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σαφ' εἶδέναι διχα.

ÆSCH. Ag. 1369.

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P R E F A C E

THE long delay in the issue of this second and concluding volume scarcely admits of any apology, though I may plead in partial excuse increase of work different in kind and a multitude of distractions. The delay has not been without compensation, for it has enabled me to take advantage of much excellent literature which has appeared on the Hexateuch in particular, and on the O. T. and Semitic literature in general, during the last five or six years.

In the light of these later investigations, I have been able, as I hope, to make some improvements in detail, and to supply certain deficiencies. On the main points my position remains unaltered. I still believe that the views advocated by Kuenen, Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and Dr. Driver are in substance established as the foundation of all subsequent inquiry. These views must be tried on their own merits. It is true that Lachmann's dissection of the *Iliad* into some eighteen ballads has long since been abandoned by sober critics ; it is also true that Baur's reconstruction of early Christian history is demonstrably untenable. But surely it is strange logic which argues, as some have argued, that because Homeric and N. T. scholars have erred, therefore Wellhausen's analysis of the Hexateuch is worthless. One has only to

remember the difference which metre makes, not to speak of the fact that the *Iliad* is a great achievement of literary art, to see that there never could be any exact parallel between theories on the composition of the *Iliad* and the Hexateuch. The Greeks attained perfection in the unity which they gave to their classical works as a whole. Hebrew literature never attained perfection on so great a scale. It would be barbarous in the highest degree to analyse Thucydides as we justly claim to analyse the Hexateuch or the books of Samuel, or to deny the unity of authorship in the plays of Sophocles, though scholars, with scarcely an exception, confidently assert that the 'Book of Isaiah' was written by several hands and at very diverse times. Again, even on the most negative hypothesis, the N. T. documents date from a period comparatively near to our Lord's time. They are few indeed who will now make a similar claim for the documents of the Pentateuch in relation to Moses. Lastly, every O. T. scholar worthy of the name will welcome, as such scholars always have welcomed, the assured results of archæological research. But archæologists as well as critics must be tried by the old test, *Tantum valet, quantum probat*. And if critics should acquaint themselves (as they do) with the results of archæology, may we not remind certain archæologists that they are bound to know what the methods and theories of O. T. critics really are before they set themselves to the work of refutation?

While, however, I have seen no reason, after careful study of such writers as Professor Sayce or Professor Hommel, for abandoning the lessons learnt from Kuenen

and Wellhausen, I may, perhaps be allowed to express my deepening conviction that Israel was the subject of a divine guidance, in the strictest sense supernatural and unique, till He came to whom the law and the prophets alike bear witness, and who is the 'express image of His Father's glory.'

It only remains to thank Mr. T. G. Law, of the Signet Library, for his unfailing kindness, and in particular for the trouble he has taken in revising the proofs.

W. E. ADDIS.

NOTTINGHAM, *Easter*, 1898.

The following is a list of some among the books which had not appeared or had not reached me when writing Vol. I., and which have been used in the present volume.

- Bäntsch*, Bundesbuch, 1892. Heiligkeits-gesetz, 1893.
Stärk, Das Deuteronomium, 1894.
Steuernagel, Rahmen des Deuteronomiums, 1894. Entstehung des Deuteronomischen Gesetzes, 1896.
Wellhausen, Hexateuch und Histor. Bücher, 1889.
Kuenen, Gesammelte Abhandlungen übersetzt von Budde, 1894.
Bacon, Triple Tradition of Exodus, 1894.
Holzinger, Einleitung in den Hexateuch, 1893.
Robertson, Early Religion of Israel, 1892.
Driver, Introduction to O. T., 1891.
Cornill, Einleit. in das A. T.
Kautsch, Alte Testament, 1894.
Driver and White, Hebrew Text of Leviticus, 1894. Strack Kurzgefasster Kommentar on Hexateuch, 1894.
Montet, Le Deuterome, 1891.
Wellhausen, Reste des arabischen Heidenthums (second edition), 1897; Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte, 1894.

Kosters, *Herstel van Israel*, 1894.

Smend, *A. T. Religionsgesch.*, 1893.

Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894.

Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894.

Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 1895.

Hommel, *Hebrew Tradition Illustrated by the Monuments*, 1897.

Ryssel's revision of *Dillmann's Commentary on Exodus and Leviticus* came to hand too late for use.

I might also refer to numerous articles in the *Zeitschrift für A. T. Wissenschaft*, the *Theologische Tijdschrift*, and the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, etc. etc. I am specially and largely indebted to articles in the '*Guardian*,' by Canon Driver on Archæology and O. T. Criticism.

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PART I
THE DEUTERONOMICAL WRITERS

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO DEUTERONOMY

In vol. i. p. lxxiv. *seq.*, I endeavoured to state the chief facts which concern the origin and publication of the Deuteronomical code. But the more detailed inquiry into the process by which the book of Deuteronomy assumed its present form was intentionally left over for the present volume. The following, then, are the main points which present themselves for consideration now. First we have to examine the code itself as contained in Deuteronomy xii.—xxvi., and to see whether even within these narrow limits we can distinguish the law in its simpler and earlier form from subsequent interpretations and expansion. Next we have to examine the historical and hortatory introductions given in the first eleven chapters, and to ascertain, if possible, when and how they came to occupy their present position. Thirdly we shall consider the chapters which are appended to the law in the strict sense of the word, and which partly enforce its observation by promises and threats, partly explain the way in which it was transmitted by Moses to the Levites. Finally something must be said about the work done by writers of the Deuteronomic school who edited older historic works and inserted remarks of their own, criticising the history of the past from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic reform. These are the chief questions which now demand attention, and to which we must address ourselves, clearly marking, so far as may be, the points of difficulty, with the data at hand for their solution, and separating conclusions which are certain, or at least highly probable, from those which do not rise above a low degree of

probability, or are simply ingenious guesses on matters which must remain obscure till more evidence is forthcoming or the witnesses we possess have been interrogated with better success. It is the part of sober criticism to confess ignorance where knowledge is unattainable, and to beware of discrediting the results of research by confusing mere conjecture with proved facts. Before, however, we proceed to take the questions which lie before us in their proper order, it will be well to ask once more whether we are justified in assuming that the kernel of the Deuteronomic code must have been known and published not later than 621 B.C. In the former volume, I spoke of this date as the limit below which we could not by any possibility pass, and nothing has appeared since which inclines me in the least degree to alter my previous opinion. Neither in England nor Germany, so far as I know, has the judgment of scholars been changed seriously. Nevertheless the recent attempts in France to overthrow this sure result of criticism render it, perhaps, expedient to restate and review the reasons commonly given for believing that Josiah in 621 accepted the Deuteronomic code and made it the programme of his religious reform.

A.—THE DATE OF THE DEUTERONOMICAL CODE.

(1) *Deuteronomy pre-exilic.*

Till lately the publication of Deuteronomy under Josiah in 621 has been universally regarded as the solid and immoveable basis from which all criticism of the Hexateuch is to be built up. Deuteronomy, to change the metaphor, has been taken as the fixed standard by comparison with which we can assign other documents in the Hexateuch to a date earlier or later than Josiah's reign. So long as this principle was only questioned by writers who shrink from no extravagance, and do not hesitate to place the bulk of the prophetic writings after the exile, it did not seem worth while to reopen the discussion. We refer especially to Maurice Vernes (*Nouvelle hypothèse sur la composition*

et l'origine du Deuteronome, 1887,) and Havet (*Christianisme et ses origines*, 1878, iii. p. 32 *seq.*) Greater attention, however, is due to the more sober and rational objections of Horst in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* for 1888. Horst's theory is, that whereas Josiah did in fact institute a great religious reform, he did not make any formal code the programme of this reform, that on the contrary the Deuteronomic code arose from the reform, and is, as it were, its precipitate. If this be correct, then the main thread of the narrative in 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., reverses the real process and the story which it tells of the way in which the book of the law was found, published and accepted as the basis of a solemn covenant with Jehovah, is mere fiction. Horst, indeed, admits that the chapters in question do contain fragments of an earlier and trustworthy record. They are to be found in xxii. 1, 2, xxiii. 25, 28-30. Here we have simply the brief and jejune notice of the king's accession, the extreme care with which he regulated his administration by the 'law' or 'teaching of Moses' (not the 'book of the law'), his death in battle, and his burial in Jerusalem. There are also, as Horst supposes, faint traces of the original narrative describing his reform, which stood originally between the notice of his accession and that of his death. They have, however, been almost wholly displaced by the later and fictitious record. Such a remnant is, according to Horst, to be found in xxiii. 24^a, 'Josiah exterminated the men with familiar spirits and the wizards and the teraphim and the idol-blocks and the detestable things in the land of Judah and Jerusalem,' as also in verse 14, 'He broke the sacred pillars and cut down the asherim and filled their place with men's bones.'

Horst attacks the credibility of the story that the book of the law was found in the temple and publicly accepted by the King on the following grounds. The author of the main narrative in 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., wrote after the exile. He takes for granted throughout that it was to happen and this inevitably. His evidence, therefore, cannot count for much, coming, as it does,

so long after the event. Moreover, as he gives in xxii. 15-20 a prophecy of Hulda which also takes the exile for granted, we have positive proof that he substituted fiction for genuine tradition. Further, it is impossible to believe the statement in xxiii. 15-20 that Josiah, not content with carrying out the reform in his own realm, extended it to Bethel, then part of the Assyrian empire. Here, too, the narrator represents Josiah as fulfilling an ancient prophecy which foretold the destruction of Jeroboam's altar at Bethel, and thereby he stakes his own credit on a story which is plainly of late origin and legendary in the highest degree. Horst also asks how the book of Deuteronomy could have caused such panic and have introduced a religious revolution, since after all it was no more than a summary of teaching already enforced by the prophets, and in older codes. Finally he appeals to 2 Chronicles xxxiv. in proof that the chronicler had before him the older as well as that more recent account of the reform which holds the chief place in 2 Kings. His reason for thinking so is that the chronicler places Josiah's reform in the twelfth year of his reign, the finding of the law in the eighteenth. Consequently he was acquainted with the narrative which represented Josiah's reform as long prior to the code which is said in 2 Kings to have occasioned it.¹

¹ Older critics to whom Horst refers do not really support his view. Indeed, they cannot be said to support any modern view, for they belong to an early stage of O. T. criticism which has passed away long ago. Thus Gramberg writing in 1829 identifies the book of the law found by Hilkiah with 'Exodus or at least a part of it' (*Religionsideen des A. T.* i. p. 306). Who now would treat Exodus in this off-hand way as one book? Vatke in 1835 suggests that the book found may have been an older code than Deuteronomy, viz. Exodus xiii. xix—xxiv. xxxii—xxxiv. (*Religionsideen des A. T.*, seq.). But how could such a code serve as a programme for the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem? It is true that Seinecke's *Geschichte Israel*, 1876-84 in some degrees anticipates the extravagances of Vernes. He places Deuteronomy after the exile, and Ezekiel in the time of the Maccabees (vol. i. p. 386, vol. ii. p. 1-20). But this work had no influence, and cannot be treated seriously. The following samples of the method pursued will be enough for most readers. The author supposes that Gog is derived from Antiochus (Epiphanes) by omitting the first two and the last two (!) letters, and he is confident that Chittim is derived from Macedon by the same process of omitting the first two and the last two letters.

The ingenious but uncritical theory which has been explained at perhaps needless length is improbable on the face of it, has no evidence in its favour, and is refuted by such evidence as we have. On the one hand, it is quite credible that Josiah confronted with a law which claimed to be divine, accepted it as such, and in obedience thereto laid his hand to the work of religious reform. The law was far from being altogether new, since it was a summary of prophetic teaching, while at the same time it went beyond the prophets in the definite and practical nature of its requirements, and in particular by its insistence on the rule that all sacrificial worship must be confined to the one central shrine at Jerusalem. The fact that the book of the law was not found till the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign makes it easy to see why the reform was so long delayed under so pious a king, and why the discovery being made it was set about immediately and thoroughly. On the other hand, it is difficult to see what induced the king to undertake a radical and systematic reform which defied strong interests and sacred local traditions,¹ unless he could allege divine authority for the step he took. Horst, indeed, declares that the king had the prophets for his guides, but he does not even attempt to show that the prophets had advocated the exclusive claims of the temple at Jerusalem. Again, if Deuteronomy was not found at the time specified in the book of Kings, when did it first become known and how did it obtain recognition? No answer to this question can be given if we refuse belief to the story told in Kings. Let us see what this involves. Deuteronomy is pre-exilic, as is proved by its influence on pre-exilic as well as early exilic literature. 'Jeremiah,' says Dr. Driver, 'exhibits marks [of this influence] on nearly every page; Zephaniah and Ezekiel are also evidently influenced by it' (Driver's *Introduction*, p. 83). It claims and in some way obtained public recognition and

¹ For an interesting illustration of the attachment to local shrines, see *Thucyd.* ii. 16. The historian, as Mr. Forbes says, himself sympathised with it.

authority, although it entailed a new departure of a very striking kind in religious observance. Yet all memory of its introduction perished. Its memory must have perished moreover within a time comparatively short, because the writer of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii. is evidently quite ignorant of the 'Priestly Code' published in 444 B.C. Further, Josiah, as Horst admits, carried out a great religious reform in the full light of day and in the most formal and public manner. Yet the nature of that reform was also, as we must on Horst's theory believe, soon clean forgotten and replaced by a fictitious narrative. We do not say that it is absolutely impossible *a priori* to accept this consequence of Horst's theory. We do say that there is no analogy to support it. The 'Book of the Covenant' is of unknown origin but introduced no great religious novelty. The 'Priestly Code' did, but we do know the history of its publication. We are justified therefore in requiring strong evidence before we accept a theory which is certainly not recommended by intrinsic probability.

In fact, however, the evidence which we have, decidedly, nay conclusively, establishes the substantial truth of the narrative given in Kings. To a great extent the story speaks for itself. It is consistent with the history of the time, and so inconsistent with views which prevailed afterwards that there could have been no motive for its invention. The way in which the story opens well deserves notice. The King appears with complete control over the temple finances. He exercises it as a matter of course; and an order which the King sends to the temple about the collection and use of the temple funds is the occasion taken by the leading priest to inform the King's chancellor that he has found the book of the law. This complete control of the King over the royal sanctuary is in perfect accord with evidence furnished by the history of the revolution which set Joash on the throne of Judah, as we have it in 2 Kings xi., and indeed is in harmony with the whole course of Hebrew history. The chronicler, however, did not find himself at home in the genuine records of an earlier age, and accordingly he has altered both narratives in order to

reconcile them with the authority due to priests and Levites. Again, there is an 'undesigned coincidence' in the course attributed to Shaphan, for we know from other sources that his family were in friendly relations with the reforming and prophetic party. There is another note of veracity in the statement that Hulda the prophetess was the person consulted in the panic which the finding of the book caused. A fictitious history would scarcely have failed to select the great prophet of the time, Jeremiah. It would not have chosen instead the name of a woman otherwise unknown. Yet to modern scholars who can study Jeremiah's writings in an historical spirit of which no author of fictitious history in early days was capable, a reason appears which accounts for the fact that Jeremiah took no prominent part in the first introduction of the new law. For allied as he was in spirit to the Deuteronomic school, he had scant sympathy with the regulation of religion by a code, even though it was a prophetic code. It is worth notice also that the historian in the book of Kings (xxiii. 1, 2) speaks of the law as proclaimed before the priests and prophets, while the chronicler characteristically changes this (2 Chron. xxxiv. 29 *seq.*) into priests and Levites. The most decisive point, however, remains to be mentioned. Deuteronomy makes certain arrangements for the Levites, who were henceforth forbidden to sacrifice on the high places or local shrines, and in consequence lost their means of livelihood. They were to remain in their former abodes. But they are urgently commended to the charity of their brother Israelites, and they might whenever they chose go up to Jerusalem, offer sacrifice there, and share in the priestly revenue (Deut. xviii. 6, *seq.*). Such was the benevolent scheme of a theorist, but it could not be reduced to practice. 'The priests of the high places (so we read in 2 Kings xxiii. 9) did not go up to the altar at Jerusalem, but ate unleavened bread in the midst of their brethren.' In other words, want of work drove them from their old homes, but the priests at Jerusalem naturally enough would not admit them to full and equal rights at the central shrine. Deuteronomy gives the ideal,

the narrator in Kings the fact. What better evidence can we desire that the history which we have been examining is no mere echo of Deuteronomy, but is based on independent tradition?¹

Nor can Horst be allowed to assume offhand that we have no evidence for the proclamation of the Deuteronomic law by Josiah except in 2 Kings. It is highly probable that Jeremiah (ch. xi.) refers to the proclamation of Deuteronomy, and at all events an interpretation supported by the general voice of the best scholars² cannot be ignored. And even if Horst had succeeded instead of failing to damage the credit of the account given in 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., it would still remain certain that Deuteronomy existed and became widely known in Josiah's reign. This plainly appears from its influence on the writers of that time which has been mentioned above.

We do not, however, fall into any inconsistency with the foregoing remarks by accepting the admitted and evident fact that the narrative in 2 Kings has been altered in important respects by a later hand. There are a few glosses and interpolations, and above all it must be remembered that the prophecy of Hulda no longer survives in its pristine form. It is simply incredible that she predicted or even was originally represented as predicting the inevitable and unconditional ruin of the nation. That would indeed have been cold encouragement for the work of reform. But a later editor, aware that Josiah's reform had after all been followed by the exile, and also aware that all his readers knew this, had strong inducement to construct a prophecy of his own on new lines but in Hulda's name. So also the notice of Josiah's proceedings at Bethel is in large measure unhistorical. Nevertheless even there we have apparently a kernel of fact. The Scythian

¹ This point is well put by Stärk, *Deuteronomium*, p. 99 seq. He reads מִצֹּת 'portions prescribed by law' for מִצֹּת 'unleavened bread.' Comp. Neh. xiii. 5.

² Reuss, *Gesch. des A. T.*, § 310; Marti, *Jeremia*, p. 17; Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, p. 56; Giesebrecht in his recent commentary; Stärk, *Deuteronomium*, p. 96, who also quotes Jer. iii. 1 seq.; viii. 8 seq.

invasion of 630 had crippled Assyria. Its empire was shrinking back into the old national limits, and its authority over Palestine must have been only nominal. Josiah, therefore, may very well have carried his reform northwards over the boundaries of Judah.¹

(2.) *Was Deuteronomy written much before 621?*

In vol. i. p. lxxiv., I claimed the general consent of critics for the statement that 621, the year of publication, was also the 'approximate' date for the authorship of Deuteronomy. I now desire to express myself more cautiously and could only justify my previous assertion by claiming for the word 'approximate' a liberal, perhaps a too liberal, interpretation. True, there is no decisive evidence against the theory of Cornill and others that Deuteronomy was written 'shortly before its publication' in 621. But neither is there anything against the possibility that it was written a good deal earlier, say in Manasseh's reign, *i.e.* between 686 and 641. The fact that the literary influence of Deuteronomy first makes itself felt in Zephaniah and Jeremiah does not count for much, since we have but few and uncertain fragments of Hebrew literature belonging to the time of Manasseh. We have indeed strong grounds for rejecting the theory lately advanced by Oettli, *viz.* that Hezekiah's reform (2 Kings xviii. 22) was caused by the teaching of Deuteronomy. No doubt the writer in Kings xviii. 3-7 implies this, but then he himself belongs to the Deuteronomic school, as his style shows, and would naturally take this for granted. Besides, another and apparently older writer in 2 Kings xviii. 22 leads us on the contrary to suppose that Hezekiah began his reform without any law of Jehovah to justify it. We may then take the reform of Hezekiah (some time before 701) for the terminus *a quo*, as 621 is the terminus *ad quem*. These limits being observed, conjecture is free to move as it will.

¹ So Wellh. *Israel und jüdische Gesch.*, p. 94. Westphal, *Scources du Pentat.*, ii. 296. The opposite view is taken by Stärk, *Deuteronomium*, p. 96.

Much, as I now think, is to be said for the theory that Hezekiah's reform gave the impulse for the writing of Deuteronomy. Of course we must always remember that the author of Deuteronomy used material much older than his own day. Hence he honestly believed that he was writing (which after all was the case) in the Mosaic spirit, and he was therefore entitled by the literary etiquette of the ancient world to use the name of Moses. He was in fact carrying out and developing the intention of the primeval legislator, for worship in the high places imperilled the purity of Mosaic religion, and led to disastrous confusion of Jehovah with the nature-deities of Canaan.

B.—THE UNITY OF THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE IN THE STRICT SENSE, *i.e.* OF DEUT. XII.—XXVI.

There is nothing strange in the refusal of most recent critics to accept even the kernel of the law in Deut. xii.—xxvi. as absolutely identical with the book which was found by Hilkiah and read in the presence of Josiah. A law by its very nature and purpose invites change and interpretation. How else can it be adapted to practical requirements? Moreover, it is certain that the 'Book of the Covenant,' the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.), nay, the 'Priestly Code' also, which, like Deuteronomy, was publicly proclaimed and solemnly accepted by the people, have all undergone subsequent revision and received large and notable additions. At the same time the rhetorical diffuseness of Deuteronomy makes it specially difficult, if not impossible, to say what these additions are. Besides this, a uniform style and that a very marked one prevails throughout except in xxi.—xxv. In these chapters it is plain that the author not only adopts the principles and details of older legislation, (this he does elsewhere, *e.g.* xiv. 1-21, xv. 1-11, 12-18, xvi. 1-17), but also incorporates the very words of older laws, sometimes contenting himself with adding motives and admonitions in his own style. Consequently in the only passages where marked difference of style occurs, it cannot be fairly used to distinguish

the book as it existed in Josiah's time from subsequent accretions. There is indeed one remarkable feature in the style of Deuteronomy of which, as we shall see, much use has been made in recent attempts to distinguish various hands in the composition of the code. As a rule, the people of Israel is personified and addressed in the second person singular, *e.g.* in xii. 13, 'Take heed to thyself that thou make not thy burnt offerings in any place which thou shalt see.' But the plural form often occurs, as in xii. 1, 'These are the statutes and the judgments which you shall observe to do,' etc. The interchange of the singular and plural form of address is very puzzling. It cannot be said that they are used indifferently. Thus in the law on the single sanctuary, xii. 1-28, we have in the first twelve verses about fifty-six words which imply the plural form of address, with only about five which are in the singular form. Thence to the end of this law the singular form occurs very frequently and the plural only once. Passing to the next law for the repression of idolatry, xii. 29—xiii. 19, we have the plural form as well as the singular in xiii. 1, a number of plural forms in xiii. 4^b-6, but singular forms at the end of the last verse: in the rest of the section the form of address is singular. Proceeding to xiv. 1-22, the law against personal mutilation and unclean food, we have in ver. 1 the principle on which personal disfigurement is forbidden and the prohibition itself in the plural form, and then a fuller reason for the law in the singular: the rest of the section, prohibiting unclean food, is in the plural. From that point a marked change is apparent: the singular form of address prevails throughout, and we have no instance of long passages couched in the plural form. The plural forms present themselves here and there, viz. in xvii. 16, xviii. 15, xix. 19, xx. 3, 4, 18, xxii. 24, xxiii. 5, xxiv. 8, xxv. 17. But that is all.¹

¹ Except that we have another variety in the final part of the code, viz. the use of the third person singular, *e.g.* 'If a man have two wives,' etc., 'he shall not be allowed,' etc. So xxi. 15-17, xxi. 18 *seq.*, xxii. 13 *seq.*, xxiv. 1 *seq.* 5, 6, 7, xxv. 1, xxv. 5. Similarly, but without the introductory 'if,' xxiii. 1-4, xxiv. 16 (in the last instance the third person plural is used).

Of course an easy way would lie open before us if we could regard the passages with the singular form of address as primary, those with the plural as secondary. Such a method has proved successful in the criticism of the 'Book of the Covenant': it cannot, however, be adapted to the text of Deuteronomy. Even Stärk, who summarily dismisses all sections or clauses in which the plural form occurs as additions to the original, cuts out also many and long passages in which the singular form prevails. The singular form cannot, then, in Deuteronomy be treated as a sure sign of superior authenticity, and we cannot escape even the most evident difficulties by confining ourselves to passages in the singular form. Thus in ch. xii. it has been plausibly argued that we have two variants of the same law prohibiting sacrifice except at the central shrine. One of these, 21-24, uses the singular form; the other, 13-16, uses the singular also, except in the concluding verse, where the plural is employed. There seems, at least on the surface, a contradiction between xv. 4, which holds out the hope that there will be no poor in Israel, with xv. 11, which declares that the poor will never cease out of the land. Both verses, however, are in the singular form. So objections which cannot be considered unreasonable have been urged against xvi. 8, which looks like an addition made by an afterthought to the rest of the law. Yet here, too, we have the singular form, which also prevails with one exception in the law concerning the King, xvii. 14-20, though it has been supposed to show signs of later date in its general character. Finally, there are cases where the singular and plural forms are inextricably bound together, each being indispensable to the sense, or where the plural form occurs in passages admittedly authentic. Such are xix. 19, 'You shall do to him as he designed to do to his fellow-countryman, and thou shalt exterminate the evil from thy midst'; xxii. 24, 'You shall bring both of them out to the gate of the city,' etc. It is certain that the editor or editors who have transmitted the text in its present form felt no difficulty in abrupt transition from the singular to

the plural form, or *vice versa*, and we must admit that the author of the original code used the same freedom. The only alternative is that taken by Stärk, who lays down the rule that all the plural forms of address to the people are marks of later date, and then when he finds a passage in the plural indispensable, proceeds arbitrarily to alter the text.

Here it will be well to give the reader some view of the attempts made to reduce the Deuteronomic code within its original limits. We may divide the critics who have done so into two classes: those who have simply excised certain passages because the matter which they contained points, as they think, to a date later than 621, or is inconsistent with the general tenor of the law; and, secondly, those who have pursued their investigations further and more systematically, and on ground of style as well as matter have reached results far more radical than the erasure of passages here and there.

Wellhausen (*Hexat.*, p. 194, *seq.*) treats as later additions xv. 4, 5, xvi. 21—xvii. 7 (later or 'at least misplaced'), xvii. 14-20, xx. (at least possibly later), xxiii. 5-7. Stade (*Gesch. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 657, *seq.*) proceeds somewhat further in the same direction. The Book of the Law falls, as he remarks, into two divisions, viz. first, into laws which are directly religious, *i.e.* which deal with worship; and next, those which are concerned with morality and with customary rights of man against man and of the state over individuals. The second division seems to begin at xvi. 18. Consequently he holds with Wellhausen that xvi. 21—xvii. 7, against corruptions of religion, is misplaced, observing further that xvii. 8 is the natural sequel of xvi. 20. Similarly, he regards xviii. on priests and sacrifice, soothsayers, false prophets, etc., xxiii. 1-10 on admission to the national assembly and purity of the camp, xxvi. on the offering of first fruits and tithes, as inserted in the wrong place. The argument is far from unreasonable: we may perhaps feel that in regard to xvi. 21—xvii. 7 it is conclusive. Yet we cannot be sure how far the original writer was faithful to a definite

method, and many a chapter of the Koran shows that an Oriental legislator was capable of setting order at defiance in a degree which appears intolerable to us. Stade rejects as later additions xv. 1-18 (at least in its present form) on the year of release, xvii. 14-20 on the kingly office, xx. on war. He sees in xii. 15-18 and 20-28 and in xvi. 2-4 and 5-8 variants of laws concerning the one altar and on the Passover respectively. Here again the objections are forcible in part. But Stade assumes too hastily that because laws are unpractical, the author of Deuteronomy in its primitive form cannot have written them. He may very well have desired that the king should not multiply horses or take many wives, although political reasons would certainly induce kings to do both so far as they could. The rules for war prove that the author of them was in respect of some details an idealist, or, if we will, a dreamer, but the same charge might be brought against the prophets. Moreover, Stade is sometimes hypocritical. How does he know that in old Israel there was no need for the priests to raise the courage of the people before battle? Cæsar made it his custom to exhort his legions before battle, and tells us in his Commentaries on the Gallic war that he did so habitually. Cornill, writing in 1891, is on the whole bolder even than Stade in excision, though he declines, as we have done, to treat the 'Utopian' nature of the law on war as a peremptory objection to its authenticity. He reduces the primitive Deuteronomy to the following sections: xii. 1-xiii. 1 (but in much shorter form than the present text), xiii. 2-19, xiv. 3 (?), 21^a, 21^b, xiv. 22-xv. 3, xv. 7-xvi. 2, xvi. 5-20, xvi. 21-xvii. 7 (but in another place), xvii. 8-13 (but without mention of the priestly tribunal), xviii. 1-13, xix. (but without the mention of priests in v. 17), xx. except 2-4, part of xxi.-xxv. (but how much it is impossible to say), xxvi. 1-15.

The critics just mentioned have not concerned themselves with the literary criticism of Deuteronomy. They have simply marked certain passages as interpolations, because they think their substance inconsistent with the general tenor of Deuteronomy, or

with the date at which the Deuteronomical law was published. Cornill indeed calls attention to the use of the second person plural in the form of address, but he does not go further than the statement that the use of this form is always suspicious, and must be taken as a sign that the context in which it occurs has been written, or at least revised and altered, by a later hand. Very lately, however, two critics have set themselves to the task of severing the earliest and later elements in Deuteronomy with much greater boldness, and have made elaborate attempts to discover differences in style as well as in matter, and to restore the law, not only in its original text, but also in its primitive order. One of these critics, Stärk, published in 1894 a monograph entitled, *Das Deuteronomium, sein Inhalt und literarische Form*: it was followed in 1896 by Steuernagel's *Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*. Both are learned, ingenious, and laborious productions. Unfortunately the reasoning turns on so many details that it could not be reproduced without complete transcription. We think it well, however, to give a summary of results indicating in some very general way the line of argument.

Stärk adopts a very sober and reasonable conjecture of Kuenen, that originally the 'Book of the Covenant' was given by the Elohist as the law which Moses delivered at the close of his life on the east of Jordan, and was put further back to the time of the encampment at Horeb, when Deuteronomy was united with the older writings of the Jahvist and Elohist. Then Deuteronomy took the place previously occupied by the 'Book of the Covenant.' Starting from this point Stärk shows that in Deut. vii. 12-16 the thought and style are closely parallel to part of the exhortation with which the 'Book of the Covenant' closes, viz. to Exod. xxiii. 22-30. So far we are on tolerably safe ground. It is, however, rather startling to be told as a matter beyond all doubt that at first Deut. vii. 12-16 stood at the end of the Deuteronomic code. It is still more surprising to read that this code did not make its first appearance as a separate book, but was simply inserted in an edition of the Elohist history, and written to

replace the 'Book of the Covenant' there. So much, however, being granted, Stärk's next assertion is credible enough, and indeed inevitable, viz. that on account of its immense importance Deuteronomy was extracted from the Elohist document, and in this independent form was read to Josiah. Still, even as a separate book it presented itself in various editions, differing considerably from each other, and as some of these rival editions were simultaneous, we cannot in strict accuracy speak of a primitive Deuteronomy. From the outset it was a school, and not a single author that was at work. The proof of this original multiplicity is found partly in the fact that it is possible, as Stärk thinks, to distinguish in the opening chapters of our present book of Deuteronomy no less than three introductions in the plural form of address, besides fragments of a fourth introduction in the singular form, partly in the occurrence within the bounds of Deut. xii.—xxvi. of the same law in various forms. Thus in ch. xii. 1-28 there are, according to Stärk, no less than five independent laws on the same subject, viz. the one place of sacrifice. Two of them are in the singular, three in the plural form. A suggestion is made that Deut. iv. 2 *seq.*, 'You shall not make any addition to the commandments which I give you, and shall not subtract anything therefrom,' was a protest against the perpetual alteration of the code in new editions.

Nevertheless, *i.e.* in spite of his contention that there was no single copy which could claim to be the one primitive code, Stärk does undertake to determine approximately the dimensions and nature of the 'book of the law' which Hilkiah found. He sets aside as of later date all passages which employ the plural form. He also dismisses certain laws on the ground that they are later in character than others within the code which are parallel to them in sense. He tries to purify the text from glosses. Finally, in the interest of good order he rearranges the whole code. Not one stone is left upon another of Deuteronomy as we have hitherto known it. For example, xxvi. 1-2, 5-11* is immediately followed in Stärk's reconstruction by xii.

29-31, and that by fragments of xiii., then by xvi. 21, xvii. 1, xxiii. 18-19, xviii. 9-13, xiv. 3 and 21, etc., etc. The assumption that Deuteronomy ever did answer to modern ideas of logical order is baseless; and even if we could believe that Deuteronomy was for some unintelligible reason cut into minute parts which were then tossed to and fro, and jumbled together as they happened to fall, we should have to content ourselves with modest ignorance. No human ingenuity with the means at our command could possibly restore the original connection. Stärk's work is the proof of this, if proof be needed. He heaps conjecture upon conjecture, and they remain mere conjectures notwithstanding his constant assurance that this is 'clear,' and that 'without doubt.'

Steuernagel, who wrote with Stärk's work before him, pursues a similar method, and reaches, or thinks he reaches, results absolutely different. He begins with an analysis of xxi. 10—xxv. 10. He separates first the laws which may be described as laws of humane conduct (such *e.g.* as those which forbid the taking of the mother bird with her young, and enjoin care for a neighbour's life, and for his strayed cattle and lost property, kindness to fugitive slaves, etc.), and believes that these laws thus separated fall into natural order, and are well connected together. In the rest of xxi. 10—xxv. 10 he finds three sets of laws, viz. those which mention 'elders,' those which deal with war, those which speak of certain offences as the 'to'ebah' of Jehovah, *i.e.* as his abomination. He tries to show that these three little groups at first existed separately, and were afterwards united. He calls this triple group of laws A, and the humanitarian laws B. Further he finds in Deut. xii.—xxi. laws allied in style to A and B as found in xxi.—xxv. Consequently nearly the whole of Deut. xii.—xxvi. is composed of A+B+various glosses and additions made by the editor who united Deuteronomy with the Jahvist and Elohist documents (the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' as I have called it in vol. i.). Even now, however, I have not indicated the whole or nearly

the whole extent to which Steuernagel carries his analysis of the elements contained in the Deuteronomical legislation. The collection of laws called by him A is connected with those parts of the hortatory introduction v.—xi. which use the plural, B with those which use the singular form of address. On the other hand, Steuernagel inquires minutely into the small codes which have been amalgamated in A, and professes to show that the little code of laws in which 'the elders' appear was in its turn composed out of prior codes, viz. from a collection (1) of enactments in which the people is addressed as 'thou,' (2) of laws on the family life without direct address, *i.e.* use of 'thou' or 'you,' (3) of laws for punishment of immorality, (4) of additions by the editor who from these three pre-existent codes constructed that code which Steuernagel calls the 'collection of the elders,' *i.e.* marked by the mention of elders. As if to make the question still more intricate we are told that the mention of the elders itself besides the formulæ 'he shall die,' 'thou shalt exterminate the evil from the midst of thee,' are due to the editor of the 'elder' group of laws. Thus about a dozen different hands can be traced in Deut. xii.—xxv. Now it is not incredible that a dozen hands have been at work within this narrow compass. It is often far too hastily assumed that a critical theory is recommended by its simplicity, whereas the actual history of a document may have been, nay in some cases is likely to have been, exceedingly complicated. Nevertheless we may well doubt the possibility of tracing these various elements in a document which like Deut. xii.—xxvi. is written in one spirit, and in a style which with two exceptions¹ is uniform almost to monotony. Of course

¹ Viz. the use of singular and plural forms, and divergences of form, in those portions of xxi.—xxvi. where the Deuteronomist admittedly incorporates older laws, especially from the 'Book of the Covenant.' Here we are dealing with a reality, for we have got the 'Book of the Covenant,' and can compare it. This, of course, is a very different thing from the codes which Steuernagel imagines.

the opposition between Stärk and Steuernagel tends to confirm this sceptical attitude.¹

It is interesting to notice that in one respect Steuernagel is conservative, or, as some would say, reactionary. He thinks that the law which is the very soul of Deuteronomy, viz. the prohibition of all sacrifice save at the central shrine, arose from the reforming measures of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4, 22), and was reduced to writing in his reign. Of the great collections from which Deut. xii.—xxvi. has been compiled, viz. A and B, he places A about 700 B.C., B somewhat later, but still in the next reign, that of Manasseh. The book laid before Josiah had 'in substance the same form in which we now possess it' (p. 81), and 'there is no evidence against, much for the belief,' that the work had assumed this form under Manasseh (p. 95).

C.—THE INTRODUCTORY PORTIONS OF DEUTERONOMY.

I. *The Historical Introduction, Deut. i.—iv. 40.*

Since vol. i. was written, Dr. Driver has discussed the authenticity of these chapters, and of course the fact that he sees no decisive reason for rejecting them must command great attention. Yet after carefully weighing all his arguments, I still

¹ A similar judgment is expressed in an able review of Stärk and Steuernagel by Kusters in the *Theol. Tijdschr.* for Sept. 1896. 'It is only in a few cases,' says Wellhausen, speaking many years ago of Deut. xii.—xxvi., 'that later alteration admits of positive proof, chiefly it seems to have consisted in addition of motive, which does not disturb the sequence.' The method pursued by Steuernagel and Stärk is, of course, common enough among a section of German critics. It attempts to find a solution when the lack of evidence makes any solution impossible. We may compare, e.g. Bauer's attempt in 1878 to dissect the work of Herodotus into the λόγοι or independent histories of which it is composed, or in Wölflin's endeavour to trace the influence of Antiochus of Syracuse on the literary style of Thucydides in his narrative of the Sicilian expedition. 'A [German] philologist in his doctoral dissertation will bring plausible reasons to prove where exactly Diodorus ceased to write out Ephorus whom we do not possess, and began to write out somebody else whose work is also lost.'—Bury's edition of Gibbon, Introduction, p. xlv.

venture to hold the position taken in vol. i., viz. that they are a later addition by a writer of the Deuteronomic school. (1.) The superscription, iv. 44-49 may, as Dr. Driver suggests, have been expanded at a later time, and we cannot, therefore, argue that because the titles i. 1-2, 4-5, iv. 44-49, can scarcely, as Dr. Driver admits, proceed from the same hand, therefore the two introductions i.—iv., v.—xi., must also proceed from different hands. Nevertheless the fact remains that we have in i. 1 a superscription, 'These are the words which Moses spoke,' followed by a long introduction, and then in iv. 45 *seq.*: another superscription, 'These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments,' etc., followed not by the law itself, in which case the new title would not be at all remarkable, but by another introduction. Hoonacker's reply that at all events the author who is supposed to have added i.—iv. 40 cannot have felt the incongruity of the double title does not meet the difficulty. The whole criticism of the Hexateuch, and indeed criticism generally, shows that editors and compilers are exceedingly tolerant of incongruity. Just because of this it is possible to track them. An editor is conservative of the text before him; he is ready to add but unwilling to curtail except for strong reasons which seldom spring from literary feeling. But why should an original writer insert a new title in the midst of his own work? (2.) Dr. Driver, as it seems to me, has fairly answered an argument of Kuenen on which I formerly relied, viz. that the author of v.—xi. conceives of Israel as an ideal unity, and therefore identifies those who received the covenant at Horeb with the later generation in the steppes of Moab, whereas the author of i.—iv. dwells upon and accentuates the distinction between the two generations (contrast v. 2, 3—xi. 3-7 with i. 26 *seq.*), the fact is that both in i.—iv. and v.—xi. Israel is spoken of as an ideal unity (so i. 9, 19, 20, 22, 26, 46), though by far the strongest instance happens to occur in v.—xi., and that in both the generation of fighting men at Horeb is distinguished from that which assembled in the steppes of Moab. It must, I think, be also admitted that Hoonacker

has succeeded in proposing an ingenious and possible interpretation of Deut. xxiii. 4-5, which removes the apparent contradiction between this passage and ii. 28-29. The latter passage distinctly implies that the Moabites consented to sell bread and water to the Israelites. The latter passage runs thus, 'An Ammonite and a Moabite shall not enter the assembly of Yahwè . . . because they did not meet you with bread and water on the road, as you went forth from Egypt, and because he hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor.' Hoonacker refers the words 'because they did not meet you, etc.,' to the Ammonites, and the next clause, 'because he hired against thee,' etc., to the Moabites. This interpretation is not absolutely impossible, but it is most unlikely. It is natural to take 'they did not meet you' of Ammonites and Moabites, 'he hired against you' of the King of Moab. But the difference of view between iv. 40-43 and xix. on the cities of refuge cannot be strongly pressed considering the uncertainty about the authorship and original context of the former passage. (3.) The language confirms the inference drawn from the title, and slightly supported by historical discrepancy. It cannot well be mere chance that נִשְׁחָה 'possession' occurs five times in ii., and also in iii. 20, but nowhere else in the Hexateuch except in Josh. xii. 6-15, which is also a late Deuteronomic passage. The synonym נִחְלָה occurs frequently in Deuteronomy proper, so does the verb יָרַשׁ so that we can hardly ask for a stronger case. Similarly הִתְנַהֵּוּ 'to provoke' occurs four times in ii., and nowhere else in the Hexateuch, and so הִתְחַנֵּן 'to supplicate' in iii. 23, הִתְעַבֵּר 'to be enraged' in iii. 26, but nowhere else in the Hexateuch except Gen. xlii. 21. The reader will observe that all these words express common and familiar ideas, and are therefore fair tests.

Deut. iv. 9-40 is of a different character from the rest of i.—iv. It is not an historical narrative, but an address urging obedience to the law. It seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that it is of later date than the preceding chapters. It seems to have been written by one who had accustomed

himself to the Deuteronomic style, but was at the same time familiar with the style and language which appears in Ezekiel and the 'Priestly School.' This matter, however, has been sufficiently discussed in the notes on the passage in question. The conclusion here indicated now, apparently, commends itself to scholars generally.¹

Many different theories have been propounded as to the precise mode in which this Introduction was prefixed to the Deuteronomical code. We may put aside as clearly untenable the view of Reuss and Hollenberg that i.—iv. 40 was prefixed by the compiler who united Deuteronomy with the 'Older Book of Hebrew History' (*i.e.* the Jahvist and Elohist already combined with each other). It was just when it was so united with a full history that the need of an historical introduction would cease to be felt. We may also feel tolerably certain that i.—iii. was written before the exile: at least it contains nothing which indicates a later date. Nor is it very difficult to see, or perhaps we should choose a more modest word, to conjecture how the addition was made. The need of an historical preface was obvious while Deuteronomy was in circulation as a separate book. It was very natural then to provide a summary of Israel's history down to the legislation in the steppes of Moab. It is generally thought more difficult to understand how the hortatory introduction in iv. (iv. 9-40) obtained its place, since Deuteronomy was already provided in v.—xi. with a long introductory speech which likewise is not indeed entirely, but still chiefly of a hortatory character. But after all the taste for writing of this kind may well have been generally diffused, and there is surely nothing extravagant in the supposition that an unknown author, thinking any speech of Moses incomplete without an exhortation to obedience, accordingly inserted iv. 9-40. The fact that the passage could offend no one who accepted Deuteronomy, and

¹ See Westphal, *Sources du Pentat.* ii. p. 71 and p. 304 *seq.* Albers's *Quellenberichte in Jos.* p. 24, etc., and even Dillm. iii. 230 *seq.*

the tendency of scribes to make their mss. as full as possible, accounts for its place in the text. The evidence scarcely encourages us to go further. True, Dillmann's theory has obtained considerable acceptance, having been adopted by Kittel, Westphal, and Albers. To begin with i.—iii., Dillmann suggests that the historical *résumé* was originally cast in the narrative form, and later was put into the mouth of Moses because a repetition of Israel's history in narrative form would have seemed tiresome when Deuteronomy was once united to the 'Older Book of Hebrew History.' He appeals to the archæological notices, which certainly are incongruous enough if we think of them as made by God to Moses, to the immediate connection in sense between iii. 28 and xxxi. 1, which latter passage is in the narrative form (*i.e.* does not use the first or second person), lastly to the fact that in x. 6-7 we have a fragment in the narrative form, the whole of the passage ix. 25—x. 11 being out of place as it stands, and allied in style and subject to i.—iii. The arguments on which Dillmann relies are not convincing. The archæological notices in i.—iii. may have been added at first in the margin, and afterwards transferred to the text. It is doubtful if xxxi. 1 can be safely regarded as the continuation of iii. 28; in iii. 21 Moses already does at least in substance what he is described as doing in xxxi. 1 *seq.* The resemblance of style between ix. 25—x. 11 is not really greater than that found everywhere in Deuteronomy, for the recurrence of the phrase, 'At this time,' in i.—iii. and ix.—x. 11, and the similar turn of expression in i. 46 and x. 25 amount to little. We have still to speak of Dillmann's theory on iv. 1-40, but the reader hardly needs to be told that Dillmann cannot regard it as originally intended to be the continuation of i.—iii. A sketch of Israel's history in the usual narrative form could not be followed immediately by an address in the second person. Dillmann, however, does not believe that the editor who altered i.—iii. into a speech of Moses actually wrote iv. 1-40. On the contrary he thinks that iv. 1-40 is a genuine part of Deuteronomy, and once formed part of the

hortatory speeches at the end of the book. His reason is the Deuteronomic style of the passage in question. But it is well worth note that in iv. 1-40 as well as in i.—iii., as compared with the rest of Deuteronomy, Dillmann detects differences, and attributes these differences to the hand of a reviser. There is no obvious reason why the editor who changed i.—iii. from a mere narrative to an address, and altered the position of iv. 1-40, should also have introduced new words and modes of expression which were no way necessary for the object he had in view. But Dillmann's testimony as to the fact of the divergence in language is valuable. It justifies us in regarding the authors of i.—iv. 40 as later disciples of the Deuteronomic school. Thus we account at once for the similarity and dissimilarity to the kernel of Deuteronomy.

We cannot venture to task the attention of the reader by a full exposition and much less by an examination of recent criticism on Deuteronomy i.—iv. It may, however, interest him to know that here as with regard to the legislation proper, it turns in great measure on the use of the singular and plural forms. Steuernagel (*Rahneu des Deut.*, 1894) sets aside as interpolations all passages in i.—iii. (they are not numerous) in which the second person singular occurs. He makes additional excisions and one transposition on other grounds. He regards the author of this amended text as distinct from the many other authors and editors who can be traced in Deuteronomy, and attributes to him the view that the new legislation was given shortly after the Israelites left Horeb.¹ He discovers in chapter iv. no less than four sections originally separate, viz.: 1-4; 5-8, 10-18; 22-23^a, 25^{ab}-28; 29-31. Stärk pursuing a similar method comes to very different conclusions. He assigns the bulk of i.—iv. 14 to an author who recognised no legislation at Horeb but made Deuteronomy the one and only code. Stärk follows

¹ Steuernagel 'discovers' the same view in one of the authors visible in v.—xi.

Kuenen in his view that the 'Book of the Covenant,' according to the original text of the Elohist, was given in the steppes of Moab. For this code Deuteronomy was a substitute; it was not an additional code. There is, as Stärk believes, support to be found for this theory in i.—iv. 10, though of course he makes large alterations in the text, cutting out passages where the people are addressed as 'thou,' archæological notices, etc., and placing iv. 5-8 after the code itself (xii.—xxvi.). He connects iv. 15-19 (?) and 25-28 with various passages in v.—xi., xxvii., xxix., which were written after the exile. He gives the same date to iv. 29-40, the only long passage in i.—iv. where the singular form of address is maintained, and which he described as 'a conglomerate of diverse material.'

II. *The Hortatory Introduction*, iv. 45—xi.

I still venture to maintain the opinion expressed in vol. i. that iv. 45—xi. is from the same hand which wrote with the help of older sources the Deuteronomic code, *i.e.* xi.—xxvi. It is true that a large and apparently growing number of scholars take the opposite side. According to Wellhausen there are three stages in the process by which Deuteronomy grew into its present form. First, the code proper xii.—xxvi. stood alone; next, two independent editions appeared, viz. i.—iv. 44, xii.—xxvi., xxvii., and iv. 45—xi., xii.—xxvi., xxviii.—xxx.; thirdly, these two enlarged editions were united so as to form Deuteronomy i.—xxx. In the later history of the book which now formed part of the *Hexateuch*, no subsequent additions were made except after chapter xxx. Stade, Cornill, and Holzinger are substantially of the same mind with regard to v.—xi. On the other side we find not only Dillmann and Kittel, but also Kuenen, Driver, Kautzsch (though less decidedly) and Albers. The following reasons seem to establish a strong probability in favour of the more conservative view.

(a) Admittedly the law in its original form cannot have begun

with xii. 1. Some definite and formal statement that it came from Moses was indispensable, if it was to obtain authoritative recognition. Such a claim would naturally be placed at the head of the book. If so, what became of the original preface? Why was it dropped?

(b) Kuenen's careful comparison between the language of v.—xi. and xii.—xxvi. almost demonstrates that the same author wrote both. The resemblance is the greatest that is possible short of servile imitation. Of forty words and phrases characteristic of Deuteronomy xii.—xxvi., twenty-seven are found in v.—xi. Of the remaining thirteen there are eight for which the writer had no occasion in v.—xi. Thus of forty characteristic expressions in xii.—xxvi., only five are really absent in v.—xi. It is quite otherwise, e.g. in i.—iv., where the Deuteronomic manner, no doubt, is successfully maintained, but at the same time marked divergences in style and vocabulary occur. It is specially instructive to examine xviii. 16-20 (on the Theophany at Horeb and prophecy). A number of the striking turns of expression there are also used in the description of the gathering at Horeb in ch. v. and in the references to it made in ch. ix., x. But the author of these introductory chapters moves quite freely; he does not copy the passage in xviii. 16-20, but on the contrary passes by the subject of prophecy as an extension of the revelation given in the Mount. (For references see Kuenen's *Onderz.* i. 1 § 7. n. 10).

(c) The objections urged against the belief that v.—xi. form part of Deuteronomy in its original form are of no great weight. There are only two which have to be considered. In xi. 26, the people are warned that life or death are the consequences of obedience or disobedience to the law; yet this law on our hypothesis had not as yet been promulgated. It is doubtful if a literary inconsistency of this kind needs any special explanation. If it does, we may assert with Kuenen that the author may very well have begun by drawing up the code and have added the long introduction afterwards. In a modern book the

preface stands first, but is written last.¹ Again it has been asked why, if the primitive Deuteronomy possessed a long introduction, the author, or authors, of i.—iv. 44 were compelled to provide another. Do not the facts point to Wellhausen's theory of two independent editions of the primitive code, each with an introduction of its own? They would do so, if the two introductions were of the same character. But that is not the case. The introduction v.—xi. is in the main hortatory and still left room for another introduction, giving a consecutive history of the chief incidents between the departure from Horeb and the arrival on the bank of the Jordan.

(d) The unique passage x. 1-10^a is sufficiently discussed in a note on the text.

D.—THE CONCLUDING PORTIONS OF DEUTERONOMY.

It is generally allowed that Deuteronomy was never meant to end with ch. xxvi. There must have been some statement that Moses wrote down the law, and the analogy of the 'Book of the Covenant' and the 'Law of Holiness' would lead us to expect promises and threats at the close as the divine sanction of the duties imposed on Israel. This expectation is fulfilled in the concluding chapters of the book as we have it. How far can we accept these chapters as the work of the author who wrote the code?

(a) Ch. xxviii., despite the contrary opinion of Wellhausen, Cornill, etc., may safely be regarded as an original part of Deuteronomy. So Dillmann, Kuenen, Driver, etc. With this theory the language is perfectly consistent. The writer was evidently pre-exilic, for though he anticipates the possibility of

¹ A better illustration may be found in the history of the Greek drama. The prologues, as is well known, form a notable and integral part of the plays of Euripides. Yet the *Iphigenia in Aulis* has no prologue, doubtless because the poet died before he could complete his work.

exile, he (v. 68) threatens the people with deportation to Egypt and is silent about Babylon. Now it is very unlikely that in the brief intervals between 621 and the exile, the authentic termination of the law (for, as has been said, some such conclusions as xxviii. is what we should expect at the end of the law) should have been left out and a new one substituted. We require some proof of this—and there is none, or some characteristic which would explain why the new termination was considered more suitable at a later date, but no such characteristic is to be found. Wellhausen's argument that though as yet we have only a speech of Moses, the law is spoken of in vv. 58 and 61 as a 'book,' proves at most a slight literary inconsistency. There are, however, marks of interpolation, though not to any great extent. These have been considered in the notes.

(*b*) If ch. xxviii. be authentic, ch. xxvii. cannot be, since it breaks the connection between xxvi. and xxviii. Probably, however, Kuenen is right in admitting the authenticity of vv. 9, 10, which, instead of severing xxvi. and xxviii., form a natural connection between them. The exceedingly composite nature of this interesting chapter, which embraces very old and very recent material, has been discussed in the notes.

(*c*) xxix.-xxx. There is no serious dispute that these chapters are by a later writer of the Deuteronomic school. Dillmann, Driver, even Oettli, not to speak of more extreme critics, at least deny that in their present shape they can have formed part of the primitive Deuteronomy. The chapters assume that the curse of exile has fallen on Israel, and instead of encouraging observance of the law, like ch. xxviii., by promises and threats, their object rather is to hold out hope of restoration to the exiles. It has been shown in the notes that although the language is Deuteronomic, it approximates here and there to that of Ezekiel and the 'Priestly Writer.'

(*d*) xxxi.-xxxii. The following is a summary of conclusions for which reasons have been given in the notes.

xxxi. 1-8 presupposes ch. i.-iii. and is probably by the same hand.

xxxi. 9-13 may be, and according to Kuenen is, a part of the primitive Deuteronomy.

xxxi. 24-29 is, as the language shows, by a writer of the Deuteronomical school. He must, however, be later than the writer of Deuteronomy i.-iii. The introduction i.-iii. must have been composed before Deuteronomy was joined to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' This section can only have been written when that union was already effected, as appears from the reference to the Song of Moses in ver. 28. But it is possible, as Dillmann suggests, that this editor may have drawn his material from the primitive Deuteronomy of which 24-26* may be a fragment.

E.—TRACES OF THE DEUTERONOMIC SCHOOL OUTSIDE OF DEUTERONOMY ITSELF.

(a) *In the Preceding Books of the Hexateuch.*

It is certain that an editor united Deuteronomy nearly in its present form, *i.e.* the book of Deuteronomy as we have it, except the poems added at the end and the few verses from P, with the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' Did the editor who effected this conjunction alter the older documents in the style and spirit of Deuteronomy?

Colenso maintained that he did so to a very considerable extent. No *a priori* objection can be made to this view; on the contrary, careful considerations of natural probability are all in its favour. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, down to the legislation at Horeb, there are very few traces of Deuteronomic language or thought. Such traces do occur, as has been pointed out in vol. i., in Genesis xxvi. 1-5, and in Exodus xv. 26. In Exodus xii. 21-27, xiii. 3-16, we have passages which are apparently partly Deuteronomical. Possibly also Cornill may

be right in thinking that the text has been retouched by the Deuteronomist in Exodus iv. 21-3, viii. 18^b, ix. 14-16, 29^b, x. 2 xvi. 4, 28, though these instances are by no means conclusive. In the legislation itself the Deuteronomistic influence appears much more largely. It is plainly seen in the decalogue, as was shown in vol. i. p. 140 *seq.* And if with Bäntsch we reject as unproved Kuenen's plausible theory that the Deuteronomical editor made room for the insertion of the new code by removing the 'Book of the Covenant' back from its original place at the end of the wanderings to the gathering of the Israelites at Horeb, still we must admit with Bäntsch himself that in the 'Book of the Covenant' many additions and changes have been made in the Deuteronomic style, though these changes affect the manner rather than the substance of the older code (Bäntsch, *Bandesbuch*, p. 90 *seq.*). There seems to be no reason to think with Wellhausen that the older narratives in Numbers have been altered by the Deuteronomical editor. Leviticus of course did not exist at the time.

(b) *In Joshua—2 Kings.*

In the first twelve chapters of Joshua great and constant alteration has been made by the hands of Deuteronomic editors. But they have not been content to add touches here and there; whole sections and narratives have been written in the Deuteronomical style, and the Deuteronomical spirit pervades and dominates the whole. Albers has endeavoured to show that in Joshua i.—xii. two writers may be clearly distinguished, each Deuteronomical, but each looking at the history of Israel during the period of the conquest from a different point of view. From the thirteenth chapter of Joshua to the end, the 'Priestly Writer' replaces the Deuteronomist and gives his tone to the narrative as a whole, though from time to time the Deuteronomist still appears. Nor did the work of the Deuteronomical school end here. The documents which relate the whole

history of Israel till the exile were all affected by it, though in very different degrees. Judges and Kings have been thoroughly edited by the Deuteronomical school. Deuteronomy is the standard by which character and events are estimated, and large additions have been made. In Samuel, on the other hand, the older documents have been altered far more sparingly, and hence the books of Samuel (apart from difficulties of reading) remain much nearer their original state than Judges and Kings. It is impossible to say how many hands have been at work in this revision of the older documents. Two facts, however, may be noted in conclusion with respect to the Deuteronomical editors. First, it is to be observed that they treated the older documents upon the whole in a conservative spirit. They criticised the history of Israel, *i.e.* they praised this and found fault with that, according as it was in harmony or out of harmony with the Deuteronomical code. They inserted edifying remarks, but they abstained from altering the main facts of the history with the free hand of the Chronicler. To this fortunate disposition we are indebted for the trust which we are able to place in Judges, Samuel, and Kings as invaluable authorities for Hebrew history and as containing authentic pictures of old Hebrew life. Next, it is to be remembered that the work of the Deuteronomic school did not cease entirely with the dominance of the 'Priestly Code.' The twentieth chapter of Joshua affords an example of writing in the Deuteronomic style which is yet posterior to the 'Priestly Writer,' perhaps even to the Septuagint translation. This point has been explained at length in the notes on Joshua xx. near the end of the present volume.

NOTE

The Primitive Book of Deuteronomy is printed in ordinary Roman type.

Additions by later writers of the Deuteronomic School are printed in Italic type, thus :--

These are the words which Moses spoke.

N.B.—Additions of this kind are from many hands and of various dates.

One or two Elohist fragments adopted by a Deuteronomist, and encased by him in matter of his own, have been printed in Italic type with E in the margin at the beginning and end of the fragment, thus :—

E *And the children of Israel . . . where there were streams of water.* E

Glosses, and a few insertions which deflect in a marked degree even from the general style of Deuteronomy, have been printed in black type, thus :—

Cursed is he that smites his neighbour in secret.

DEUTERONOMY

I

THE PLACE AND TIME OF THE LEGISLATION.

1.¹ *These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan,*² *in the wilderness in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel and Laban and Hazeroth and Di-zahab. 2. It is eleven days [journey] from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea. 4. After he had smitten Sihon king of the Amorites who dwelt in Heshbon and Og king of Bashan who dwelt in Ashtaroth and Edrei,*³ *5. beyond the Jordan in the land*

¹ 1-5. The superscription. It is generally admitted (e.g. by Wellh. Kuen., Delitzsch, Montet, etc.) that this superscription is by more than one hand. Vv. 3 and 4, 'And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month,' etc., have been omitted here altogether. The indication of the months by numbers, instead of names such as Abib, etc., is peculiar to the 'Priestly Writer': the Deuteronomist (see Deut. xvi. 1) holds to the older practice of indicating months by names. Ver. 3, therefore, is either an interpolation by the final editor of the Pentateuch, or, which is more likely, a fragment of the 'Priestly Writer,' the immediate sequel of which is to be found in Deut. xxxii. 48. Even the rest of the superscription has suffered at the hands of editors. Thus in vv. 1^b, 2 we have a list of places between Horeb and Kadesh-barnea. They may represent in mutilated form a summary of the journey from Mount Horeb given by the Deuteronomist, but in their present place they leave the impression that the legislation which follows was promulgated during the wanderings in the wilderness, whereas the Deuteronomist places the scene of the legislation in the land of Moab after the wanderings were over.

² 'Beyond the Jordan,' i.e. to the east of the Jordan. The writer speaks from the standpoint of a Hebrew settled to the west of the river. The same usage, which is, of course, out of place in the mouth of Moses, recurs in ver. 5, and in iii. 8, iv. 46. We have an example of the opposite and more consistent usage in the original kernel of Deuteronomy, Deut. xi. 30, where 'beyond the Jordan' means to the west of the river.

³ 'And Edrei.' So LXX., Syr., Vulg. If with the Massoretic text we omit the article, and read, 'Who dwelt in Ashtaroth in Edrei,' then the meaning will be that Ashtaroth was Og's capital, and Edrei the place of his defeat.

of Moab, Moses set himself to set forth clearly this instruction,¹ saying,

THE ORDER TO MARCH FROM HOREB. JUDGES APPOINTED.

6. *Yahwè our God² spoke to us in Horeb,³ saying, You have dwelt long enough in this mountain : 7. turn and take your journey and come to the mountain-land of the Amorites, and to all their neighbours, in the Arabah, in the mountain-land, and in the low-land and in the Negeb and by the sea-shore, the land of the Canaanites and Lebanon, as far as the great river, the river Euphrates. 8. See, I have set the land before you : Go in and possess the land which Yahwè swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give to them and to their seed after them. 9. And I spoke to you at that time,⁴ saying, I am not able to bear*

¹ 'Instruction.' The word 'Torah' meant originally the teaching given in particular cases by priest or prophet in the name of God. It might or might not be written. Thus Isaiah i. 10 calls his admonitions 'the instruction of our God,' in which case the translation 'law' would be quite misleading. So the word 'torah' is employed by Isaiah ii. 3, viii. 16, by Jeremiah xviii. 18, and xxvi. 4, 5 (where 'to walk in my torah' is parallel to 'hearken to the words of my servants the prophets'), by Ezekiel vii. 26, in the book of Isaiah xlii. 4, by Haggai ii. 11, by Zechariah vii. 12. Amos ii. 4, Hosea viii. 12, prove at most that the priestly torah might be reduced to writing. The book of Deuteronomy adheres to the primitive usage, for in Deut. xvii. 11 the word torah evidently refers to oral instruction, and in its terminology 'statutes and judgments' (Deut. iv. 1, 45, v. 1, vi. 1, xii. 1, etc.) correspond to our abstract conception of law.

² 'Yahwè our God.' This and similar combinations ('Yahwè your God,' 'thy God,' etc.) is a favourite and characteristic phrase in Deuteronomy. It occurs, according to Dillm., more than three hundred times.

³ 'Horeb' is the name which the Elohist gives to the mountain which the Jahvist calls Sinai. The latter name is never used by the Deuteronomist. In the next verse the name 'Amorite,' applied to the inhabitants of Palestine generally, is also taken from the Elohist. But the name 'Canaanite,' which is used by the Jahvist, also occurs in this verse, and in xi. 30.

⁴ 'And I spoke to you at that time,' vv. 9-16. The appointment of subordinate judges. The account here is based upon the Elohist narrative in Exod. xviii. 14 *seq.* The verbal coincidence between Deut. i. 15 and Exod. xviii. 21 is far too close to be accidental, and Deut. i. 17 repeats the idea of Exod. xviii. 22 in different language. There are, however, some divergences in fact : (1.) According to the Elohist the judges were appointed at the suggestion of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses ; according to the book of

you myself alone. 10. Yahwè your God has multiplied you, and behold, you are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude. 11. May Yahwè the God of your fathers add to your number a thousand times as much and bless you, as he has promised you. 12. How shall I myself alone bear your cumbrance and your burden and your strife? 13. Take you wise men and understanding and known, according to your tribes, and I will make them heads over you. 14. And you answered and said, The thing which thou hast proposed to do is good. 15. So I took the heads of your tribes, wise men and known, and made them heads over you, prefects of thousands, and prefects of hundreds, and prefects of fifties, and prefects of tens, and officers, according to your tribes. 16. And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between a man and his brother, or the settler that is with him.¹ 17. You shall not respect persons in judgment; you shall hear the small and the great alike; you shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's,

Deuteronomy the idea is ascribed to Moses himself; (2.) the place of the Elohist narrative in the Pentateuch implies that the appointment was made before the people reached Horeb; according to the book of Deuteronomy it was made as they were leaving Horeb; (3.) according to the Elohist the judges are chosen and instituted by Moses, whereas in Deuteronomy they are chosen by the people and only instituted by Moses. The second point of difference may be only apparent; possibly, as Dillm. suggests, the narrative of the Elohist has been moved from its original place by the compiler of the Hexateuch; the first divergence of the Deuteronomist may be explained by his desire to exalt Moses, the third by his constant desire to make the people active partakers in the counsel and work of Yahwè. We have, in the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' an account of doubtful origin more or less parallel to that in Exod. xviii. In Num. xi. 14, 16, 17, 24^b-30, Moses complains to Yahwè that he cannot bear the burden of the people alone, and is told to choose seventy elders, who are brought to the tent of meeting and receive the spirit of prophecy. To this narrative the Deuteronomist owes no ideas, but some turns of expression. Compare Deut. i. 9 with Num. xi. 14, Deut. i. 12 with Num. xi. 17.

¹ 'A man and his brother or the settler that is with him,' i.e. in cases between Hebrew and Hebrew or between a Hebrew and a foreigner domiciled in Hebrew territory. The word 'brother' does not extend further than the children of Israel, and the word usually translated 'stranger' (*ger*) really indicates a particular kind of stranger, viz. one who is settled in the country.

and the cause that is too hard for you, you shall bring to me, and I will hear it. 18. And I commanded you at that time all the things that you should do.

JOURNEY TO KADESH-BARNEA. THE MISSION OF THE SPIES.

19. *And we journeyed from Horeb, and we went through all that great and terrible wilderness which you saw in the direction of the mountain-land of the Amorites, as Yahwè our God commanded us, and we came to Kadesh-barnea. 20. And I said to you,¹ Ye are come to the mountain-land of the Amorites, which Yahwè our God is giving to us.² 21. See, Yahwè thy God has set the land*

¹ 'And I said to you.' The story of the spies, 20-46. In Num. xiii., xiv. two accounts of this matter have been united. One of these, which belongs to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' has been given in Part I. of this work; the other, which is that of the 'Priestly Writer,' will follow in due course. In the numerous points on which the two accounts differ, the Deuteronomist agrees with the older narrative, and shows no sign of acquaintance with the 'Priestly Writer.' Thus he represents the spies as setting out from Kadesh (compare Num. xiii. 26), not from Paran, as exploring, not the whole land to Rehob in the extreme north, but only the southern district as far as Eshcol; instead of maligning the land as one 'that devours its inhabitants,' they report that it is good and fertile; Joshua is not named among the spies, but on the contrary Caleb is the one faithful spy, and hence Caleb alone is exempted from the sentence of exclusion. The rest of the story, viz., the divine command to turn back in the direction of the Red Sea, the foolhardy attack on the Amorites by the children of Israel, the defeat of the latter at Hormah, is all reproduced from the 'Oldest Book.' Very often the actual words of the 'Oldest Book' are repeated. Compare, e.g. Deut. i. 25^a with Num. xiii. 20^a, Deut. i. 28 with Num. xiii. 28, Deut. i. 32 with Num. xiv. 11, Deut. i. 40 with Num. xiv. 25^b, Deut. i. 41^a with Num. xiv. 40, Deut. i. 41^b with Num. xiv. 44^a, Deut. i. 42 with Num. xiv. 41, 42, Deut. i. 44 with Num. xiv. 45. It is true that the Deuteronomist mentions the fact that twelve spies were chosen, a point noticed by the 'Priestly Writer,' and omitted in the 'Oldest Book,' as it has come down to us. From this, however, we cannot infer that the Deuteronomist used the 'Priestly' document. The editor of the Hexateuch has not preserved the beginning of the story of the spies as told in the 'Oldest Book,' and it is, as Dillm. admits, quite possible that there also the number of the spies was said to be twelve. It is to be observed further that, according to the Deuteronomist, the proposal to send spies originated with the people. Here he differs from the 'Priestly Writer,' and possibly even from the 'Oldest Book' (comp. Num. xiii. 17^b).

² 'Which Yahwè our God is giving to us.' This phrase occurs about thirty times in Deuteronomy (Dillm.).

before thee: go up, take possession, as Yahwè, the God of thy fathers, has spoken to thee; fear not, neither be dismayed. 22. And you came near to me every one of you and said, Let us send men before us, that they may search the land for us and bring us back word, [that they may search] the way by which we must go up, and the cities to which we shall come. 23. And the thing pleased me well and I took twelve men of you, one man for every tribe: 24. and they turned and went up to the mountain-land and came to the ravine of Eshcol and spied it out. 25. And they took in their hands some of the fruit of the land and brought it down to us, and brought us back word and said, It is a good land which Yahwè our God is giving to us. 26. Yet you would not go up, and rebelled against the injunction of Yahwè your God: 27. and you murmured in your tents and said, Because of Yahwè's hatred to us, has he brought us forth out of the land of Egypt, to deliver us into the hand of the Amorites, to destroy us.¹ 28. Whither are we going up? Our brethren have made our heart melt, saying, The people is greater and taller than we: the cities are great and fortified, as high as the heavens; and moreover we have seen the sons of the Anakim there. 29. And I said to you, Dread not, neither be afraid of them. 30. Yahwè your God who goes before you shall himself fight for you, according to all he has done for you in Egypt before your eyes, 31. and in the wilderness, which thou hast seen, where Yahwè thy God has carried thee, as a man carries his son, in all the way that you went, till you came to this place. 32. Yet in this thing you had no trust in Yahwè your God, 33. who went before you on the way to seek out a place² for you to

¹ 'To destroy us.' The word here rendered 'destroy' occurs twenty-eight times in Deuteronomy, and only three times in the rest of the Pentateuch (Dillm.).

² 'Who went before you on the way to seek out a place.' This verse is interesting because it shows the writer's acquaintance both with the Jahvist and Elohist. The former, Exod. xiii. 21, describes Yahwè as going before the Israelites in a pillar of cloud by day to guide them, and in a pillar of fire by night to give them light. The Elohist, Num. x. 33, tells us that the ark went before the Israelites 'to seek out' (*tur*, the same word which is used here), 'rest' for them. Here both accounts are combined. The place of the

encamp, in fire by night to let you see on the way, by which you had to go, and in the cloud by day.

THE PENALTY INFLICTED. DESIGNATION OF JOSHUA. THE VAIN ATTEMPT TO FORCE A WAY. SOJOURN AT KADESH.

34. *And Yahwè heard the sound of your words and was angry and swore, saying,* 35. *Surely not one of these men of this evil generation shall see the good land which I swore to give to your fathers,* 36. *save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he has trodden and to his children, because he has gone fully after Yahwè.* 37. *At me also was Yahwè angry¹ for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither :* 38. *Joshua the son of Nun, who stands before thee, he shall go in thither ; him do thou encourage, for he shall apportion it to the Israelites.* 39. *And your children,² who this day have no knowledge of good and evil, they shall go in thither, and to them will I give it and they shall possess it.* 40. *But as for you, turn you, and take your journey to the wilderness in the direction of the Red Sea.* 41. *Then you answered and said to me, We have sinned*

ark and of the cloud and fire in the 'Priestly Writer' is essentially different. According to him the ark was in the midst of the camp, the cloud, illuminated by fire at night, rested over the tabernacle. Therefore the rising of the cloud was a sign for departure, but could not serve as a guide on the way.

¹ 'At me also was Yahwè angry.' According to the 'Priestly Writer' (Num. xx.) this sentence of exclusion was pronounced thirty-seven years later on a wholly different occasion. But the appointment of Joshua, which, according to the Deuteronomist himself (Deut. iii. 28), was made much later, is coupled here with the sentence passed on Moses. This makes the authenticity of vv. 37, 38 subject to suspicion. Notice also that ver. 39 is the natural sequel of ver. 36.

² 'And your children.' In the Massoretic text ver. 39 begins thus : 'Moreover your little ones, who, you said, should be a prey.' The words, which are wanting in the Vatican ms. of the LXX., have been interpolated from the 'Priestly Writer' in Num. xiv. 31. This was pointed out by Kuenen in the *Theol. Tijdschr.* xi. p. 557, and with him Dillm. agrees. To speak of 'little ones and children' is senseless tautology, of which the Deuteronomist was incapable. The fact that the only instance in which the Deuteronomical historian seems to borrow the language of the 'Priestly Writer' turns out to be an interpolation is significant.

against Yahwè, we will go up and fight, according to all that Yahwè our God commanded us. And you girded on every man his weapons of war and went up with a light heart into the mountain-land. 42. And Yahwè said to me, Say to them, Go not up, neither fight, for I am not among you, lest you be smitten before your enemies. 43. And I spoke to you, and you hearkened not; but you rebelled against the injunction of Yahwè your God and presumptuously went up into the mountain-land. 44. And the Amorites who dwell in that mountain-land, came out against you, and followed you, as bees do, and beat you down from Seir,¹ as far as Hormah. 45. And you returned and wept before Yahwè; but Yahwè did not hearken to your voice, nor gave ear to you. 46. So you dwelt in Kadesh all that long time that you abode there.²

THE MARCH PAST EDMOM AND MOAB TO THE RAVINE OF ZERED.

II. 1. *Then we turned³ and took our journey into the wilder-*

¹ 'From Seir.' So LXX., Syr., Vulg. The Massoretic reading 'in Seir' is incorrect. Hormah was not in Seir. See Num. xiv. 45.

² 'All that long time that you abode there.' The time was long, but the historian does not know, or does not care to say, how long. This idiom, which occurs occasionally in Hebrew, and is very common in Arabic, is explained and illustrated in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 146. In representing the Israelites as making a very long stay at Kadesh, the Deuteronomist follows the 'Oldest Book' (probably the Jahvist). There the spies are sent from Kadesh, and long after, when Israel is about to undertake the conquest of Canaan, it is still from Kadesh (Num. xx. 14) that messengers are sent to the king of Edom, desiring leave to pass through his territory. The Deuteronomist, however, also expresses a view of his own quite inconsistent with that just mentioned, viz. that the Israelites, instead of stopping still at Kadesh, wandered for thirty-eight years in the mountain district of Seir (Deut. ii. 14).

³ 'Then we turned,' ii. 1-8^a. The relations between Israel and Edom. The Elohist, Num. xx. 14-21, xxi. 4^a (in part), has left us a parallel to the account given here. The language of Deut. ii. 1 is to some extent a verbal repetition of Num. xxi. 4. The two accounts, however, contradict each other. According to the Elohist, Israel sends messengers to Edom from Kadesh, asking leave of transit, Edom answers by a peremptory refusal, and, in consequence, Israel has to make a long circuit round the land of Edom. According to the Deuteronomical writer, Israel marches about the Edomite territory of Mount Seir, because Yahwè has condemned them to a nomad

ness in the direction of the Red Sea, as Yahwè spoke to me, and we moved about Mount Seir for a long time together. 2. And Yahwè spoke to me, saying, 3. You have moved about this mountain-land long enough: turn you northward, 4. and command the people, saying, You are on the point of passing through the territory of your brethren the sons of Esau and they shall be afraid of you. But take great heed; 5. Strive not with them, for I will not give you of their land,¹ no not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread on, because I have given Mount Seir² to Esau for a possession.

life, till the generation which rebelled against him at the time of the sending of the spies to Eshcol was consumed. This time of punishment being over, the Israelites ask leave of transit from the Edomites. The latter are afraid to put any hindrance in their way (ver. 4), and sell them provisions (ver. 29).

¹ 'I will not give you of their land,' i.e. at that time, for Edom was subdued by David (2 Sam. viii. 13, where Edom, not Aram, is the true reading), and was for long a vassal kingdom subject to Judah. The Edomites revolted from Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat (2 Kings viii. 20), and were again subdued by Amaziah and Uzziah (2 Kings xiv. 7, 22). They revolted once more under Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6, where we should read 'The Edomites came to Elath and dwelt there'). After this the Judæan kingdom was too much crippled, first by the Assyrian, then by the Babylonian Empire, to think of recovering its supremacy over Edom. Contrast with the view of Deuteronomy, that all depends on the will of the one God, the naturalistic account of the Elohist, Num. xx. 14 *seq.*, according to which the Israelites avoid Edom, because the Edomites bar the way with an armed force. Contrast also the poem given by the Jahvist, Gen. xxvii. 40. There Edom and Israel struggle in a perfectly natural way, with the result that Edom at last wins its freedom.

² 'I have given Mount Seir.' For Yahwè is not only the God of the Hebrews, but also the God of the whole earth, and he assigns their countries to Edom and Moab (see ver. 9) no less truly than he gives Canaan to Israel. We have an instructive contrast to this statement in the words of Jephtah (Judges xi. 24, 25) to the Ammonite king: 'Wilt thou not possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yahwè our God hath dispossessed before us, them will we possess.' We can trace three stages in the development of Hebrew monotheism: (1.) According to the pre-prophetic belief, Yahwè was one God among many; he was the God of Israel, as, e.g., Chemosh was the god of Moab. This is the view of Jephtah, or rather of the author who wrote Jephtah's history. Yahwè was a local God, who could only be worshipped in his own land (1 Sam. xxvi. 19), or at least on his own soil (2 Kings v. 17). Yahwè was, as the pious Israelite thought, the greatest of Gods, but he was not different in kind from them. (2.) The literary prophets, beginning with Amos and previous to Jeremiah,

6. *You shall purchase food of them for money that ye may eat, and water also shall you purchase of them for money that you may drink.* 7. *For Yahwè thy God has blessed thee in all the work of thy hand: he has taken thought for thy travel through this great wilderness: these forty years Yahwè thy God has been with thee: thou hast lacked nothing.*

8. *So we passed by from our brethren the children of Edom, who dwell in Seir, from the way of the Arabah, from Elath and from Ezion-geber, and we turned and passed in the direction of the wilderness of Moab.* 9. *And Yahwè said to me, Vex not Moab, neither contend with them in battle, for I will not give thee of his land for a possession, for I have given Ar¹ as a possession to the*

conceived of Yahwè as a being essentially righteous. Thus to them there was a difference in kind between Yahwè and other gods. Here we have a nascent and implicit monotheism. Isaiah calls the heathen deities 'etilim,' i.e. 'not-gods,' and he, like the other early prophets, represents Yahwè as directing the fortunes of heathen states for the ultimate spiritual good of Israel. His is a radically different view from the primitive one, that Yahwè fought for Israel against other gods. (3.) In Deuteronomy and Jeremiah this monotheism becomes explicit, and is stated in the most direct manner: 'Yahwè, he is God; there is none else beside him' (Deut. iv. 35, 39, vii. 9, Jeremiah xiv. 22). Hence Yahwè orders the affairs of all nations, not simply so far as this is necessary for the good of Israel, but because he is the only God of the whole earth. As such he stands in direct relations to the heathen. As in the text before us he gives Edom and Moab their countries, so, according to Jeremiah, he allows the nations who consent to serve the king of Babylon to remain in their land, he restores the captives of Moab and Edom, and maintains their widows and orphans (Jer. xxvii. 11, xlviii. 47, xlix. 39, xlix. 11). Of course, in tracing this development, allowance must be made for two facts. In the first place, the popular ideas must have remained for long below the level reached by spiritual leaders. Next, language which seems inconsistent with pure monotheism (e.g. comparison between Yahwè and other gods, statements that he is greater than they, makes war on them, etc.) is often, in the mouths of those who used it, no more than poetical figure. Ps. xcv. (comp. ver. 3 with 4 and 5) and cxxxv. (comp. ver. 5 with 15 *seq.*) supply clear instances of this poetical usage. This, however, need not lessen our confidence that the phrases originally bore a literal sense, which excluded, not indeed the worship of Yahwè alone, which is monolatry, but the belief in Yahwè as the only God, which is monotheism.

¹ 'Ar,' a city at the north-east corner of Moab. It receives special mention here because it was the point of contact between the Moabites and the Israelites marching northward.

children of Lot. 10. The Emin¹ dwelt therein before, a people great and many and tall as the Anakim: 11. these also are accounted Rephaim as the Anakim, but the Moabites call them Emim. 12. The Horites also dwelt in Seir before, but the children of Esau dispossessed them,² and they destroyed them from before them and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did to the land of his possession,³ which Yahwè gave to them. 13. *Now rise up and get you over the ravine of Zered: so we went over the ravine of Zered.* 14. *And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the ravine of Zered, were thirty-eight years, until all the generation of the men of war were consumed⁴ from the midst of the camp, as Yahwè swore to them.* 15. *Moreover the hand of Yahwè was upon them, to sweep them from the midst of the camp, till there was an end of them.*

THE AMMONITES ARE NOT TO BE MOLESTED.

16. *So it came to pass, when all the men of war were dead and gone from the midst of the people,* 17. *that Yahwè spoke to me, saying,* 18. *Thou art to pass this day through the territory of*

¹ 'The Emin,' etc. The archæological details given here (vv. 10-12) are almost certainly a later addition. They interrupt the sequence, ver. 13 being the natural continuation of ver. 9, and we can scarcely suppose that the writer of this chapter was so inartistic as to put this piece of antiquarian information into the mouth of Yahwè. The interpolation may be, and probably is, due to an ancient reader of Deuteronomy rather than to the final editor of the Pentateuch. For it is only in Deuteronomy that the verb 'yarash' (ver. 12) is used with nations for its object in the sense of 'dispossess.'

² 'Dispossessed.' Read יִירָשׁוּם בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו or יִירָשׁוּם. Driver's rendering of the Massoretic text, 'proceeded to dispossess them,' is possible, but unlikely.

³ 'As Israel did to the land of his possession.' The writer drops the Mosaic standpoint, and writes as if Canaan generally were already in Israelite hands.

⁴ 'Until all the generation . . . were consumed.' Here the view of the historical introduction collides, as most think, with that of Deuteronomy proper (v. 2 *seq.*, xi. 2-7). In the latter it is expressly said that the Deuteronomical legislation was addressed to the very men who had received the covenant at Horeb. But see Special Introduction.

Moab, through Ar, 19. and will come close in front of the children of Ammon: vex them not nor contend with them, for I will not give aught of the land of the children of Ammon for a possession, for I have given it to the children of Lot for a possession. 20. That also is accounted¹ a land of Rephaim; Rephaim dwelt therein before, but the Ammonites call them Zamzummim: 21. a people great and many and tall as the Anakim; but Yahwè destroyed them before them, and they dispossessed them, and dwelt in their stead; 22. as he did for the children of Esau who dwelt in Seir, when he destroyed the Horites from before them, so that they dispossessed them and dwelt in their stead till this day. 23. And as to the Avvim who dwelt in villages as far as Gaza, the Caphtorim who went forth from Caphtor destroyed them and dwelt in their stead. 24. Rise up, journey forward, and cross the ravine of Arnon: see, I give into thy hand the Amorite Sihon and his land; begin to possess it and contend with him in battle. 25. This day will I begin to put the dread of thee and the fear of thee upon the peoples which are under the whole heavens;² who shall hear the report of thee, and tremble and writhe because of thee.

THE DEFEAT OF SIHON AND CONQUEST OF HIS LAND.

26. And I sent messengers³ from the wilderness of Kedemoth to

¹ 'That also is accounted,' etc. Vv. 20-23 are an interpolation similar to that in 10-12.

² 'Under the whole heavens.' One of those rhetorical exaggerations which characterise the style of Deuteronomy. Contrast the more moderate language of the 'Oldest Book' (Exod. xxiii. 27), 'I will send my terror before thee, and will discomfit all the people to whom thou shalt come.'

³ 'And I sent,' etc. The conquest of Sihon's land, vv. 26-35. Here the language shows close dependence on the narrative of the 'Oldest Book' (Num. xxi. 21-25). The Deuteronomical writer has, moreover, adopted turns of phrase from the parallel account, also Elohist, of Israel's message to Edom (Num. xx. 14-21). The facts are, as usual, repeated by the Deuteronomical writer from the 'Oldest Book,' and such alterations as he has made do not arise from his adherence to another tradition, but from his way of adapting fact to his own religious ideas. Thus, whereas in the Elohist the Israelites of their own accord ask Sihon for leave to pass through his

Sihon king of Heshbon with words of peace, saying, 27. I wish to pass through thy land; I will go straight forward on the road, without turning to the right or left. 28. Thou shalt sell me food for money that I may eat, and shalt give me water for money that I may drink: I only wish to pass through on my feet; 29. as the children of Esau who dwell in Seir and the Moabites¹ who dwell in Ar did to me; till I pass over the Jordan to the land which Yahwè our God is giving to us. 30. But Sihon king of Heshbon would not let us pass through his dominion, because Yahwè thy God hardened his spirit and made his heart obstinate, that he might deliver him into thy hand, as at this day. 31. And Yahwè said to me, See, I have begun to deliver up Sihon and his land before thee: begin to possess, that thou mayest take his land into possession. 32. Then Sihon came out against us, he and all his people, to battle at Jahaz. 33. And Yahwè our God delivered him up before us, and we smote him and his sons,² and all his people. 34. And we took all his cities at that time, and we put the men of each city under the ban, with the women and the little ones; we left none to escape: 35. only the cattle we took as spoil to ourselves, and the plunder of the cities which we had taken. 36.

land, and on his refusal defeat and dispossess him, in Deuteronomy all depends on the direct command of Yahwè. Yahwè declares (ver. 24) that he gives Sihon's land to the Israelites; next Moses (not, as in the Elohist, the Israelites in general) sends messengers asking peaceful transit, as if Yahwè had never promised Sihon's land as a gift to Israel. Sihon refuses, and the Israelites conquer his territory. The inconsistency of the account in Deuteronomy, which takes over an older account and infuses into it new ideas, is quite palpable. Again, in 34^b, 35, the Deuteronomical writer tells us how the 'cherem' or ban was carried out in accordance with the law, Deut. xx. 16-18. Besides these additions made on principle, the Deuteronomical writer enriches his narrative with two trifling circumstances: he mentions the wilderness of Kedemoth as the place from which the Israelite messengers were sent to Sihon, and he speaks of Sihon's sons. Such amplifications are natural and easy, and no proof that the Deuteronomical writer followed any tradition independent of the 'Oldest Book.'

¹ 'The Moabites.' Here the margin of Deuteronomy is at variance with the body of the book, xxiii. 4, *seq.* Comp. Judges xi. 17.

² 'Sons.' The plural is attested by the margin of the Hebrew text, by many Hebrew MSS., the Sam., and all the versions.

From Aroer, which is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon, and from the city that is in the ravine¹ as far as Gilead, no town was too high for us: Yahwè our God delivered up all before us: 37. only to the land of the children of Ammon thou didst not come near,² to all the side of the river Jabbok, and the cities of the hill country, and wheresoever Yahwè our God forbade us.

DEFEAT OF OG. ALLOTMENT OF THE TERRITORY EAST OF JORDAN.

III. 1. *Then we turned³ and went up in the direction of Bashan, and Og the king of Bashan came out against us, he and all his people, to battle at Edrei. 2. And Yahwè said to me, Fear him not, for I have delivered him and all his people and his*

¹ 'From Aroer which is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon, and from the city that is in the ravine.' These words have been left in the text because they correspond to the sense which the Deuteronomical writer meant to convey. But the clause in its present form has been, as Dillm. points out, interpolated from the 'Priestly Writer' (Josh. xiii. 16). 'The city that is the ravine' is almost certainly the city which the Deuteronomical writer calls Ar. Aroer and Ar were the extreme points in the south boundary of Sihon's land.

² 'To the land of the children of Ammon thou didst not come near.' Why? For a supernatural reason, according to the Deuteronomical writer. Yahwè had forbidden them to do so; he would not give it to the Israelites, having already bestowed it on the children of Lot. For a natural reason, according to the Elohist (Num. xxi. 24), 'because the boundary of the children of Ammon was strong.' Here, however, the reading of the LXX. is different.

³ 'Then we turned,' etc., vv. 1-7. Og, king of Bashan, conquered by the Israelites, who seize his territory. The first three verses agree verbally with Num. xxi. 33-35. But here the originality seems to be on the side of the Deuteronomical writer. The style of the verses is Deuteronomical. Compare, e.g. in ver. 1, 'Og, the king of Bashan, came out against us, he and all his people to battle at Edrei,' with Deut. ii. 32, 'Sihon came out to meet us, he and all his people, to battle at Jahaz'; and contrast the genuine style of the 'Oldest Book,' Num. xxi. 23, 'Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz; and he fought against Israel.' Accordingly, Dillm. and Kautzsch rightly argue that the passage before us in Deuteronomy has been inserted in the text of Numbers. Either the 'Oldest Book' was silent on this subject, or else contained a divergent account, which was removed by an editor in favour of the interpolation from Deuteronomy. The remaining verses, 4-7, repeat in the case of Og what has been already said of Sihon. Thus iii. 4^a=ii. 34^a, iii. 6=ii. 34^b, iii. 7=ii. 35.

land into thy hand, and thou shalt do to him, as thou didst to Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt in Heshbon. 3. So Yahwè our God delivered into our hand Og also, the king of Bashan, and all his people, and we smote him, till we did not leave him one to flee. 4. And we took all his cities at that time; there was not a town which we did not take from them, sixty cities, the whole circuit of Argob, the kingdom of Og in Bashan. 5. All these were fortified cities, with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwallèd towns in great abundance. 6. And we put them under the ban as we had done to Sihon king of Heshbon, putting under the ban the men of each city, with the women and the little ones. 7. But the cattle and the plunder of the cities we took as spoil to ourselves. 8. So we took the land at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan,¹ from the ravine of Arnon to Mount Hermon; 9.—the Sidonians call Hermon Sirion, and the Amorites call it Senir;—10. all the cities of the table-land, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, to Salecah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. 11. For only Og king of Bashan was left of the remnant of the Rephaim; behold, his sarcophagus, a sarcophagus of basalt,² is it not in Rabbah of the children of

¹ 'Beyond Jordan.' The writer forgets that he is speaking in the person of Moses, and uses the phrase to denote the east side of the river. In vv. 20, 25, it denotes, consistently with the literary fiction of the book, the west side.

² 'His sarcophagus, a sarcophagus of basalt.' The alternative translation, 'His bedstead a bedstead of iron,' may be right. But most recent scholars (Dillm., Montet, Kautzsch, etc.) have adopted the rendering given in the text. The Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic words for 'bed' are also used for bier (see, e.g., for the Hebrew usage 2 Sam. iii. 31, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, and for the Aramaic the Targ. on 2 Sam. iii. 31, and the Peshitto Luc. vii. 14). The basalt, which abounds to the east of the Jordan, is regarded by the Arabs of that region as an iron-stone, and does in fact contain a certain proportion of iron mixed with felspar and pyroxene. Lastly, travellers have been struck by the number of basaltic sarcophagi still existing on the east of the Jordan, and now often used as drinking-troughs. Such a sarcophagus may, in the time of our writer, have been named after Og, a mythical king of Bashan. Why he was supposed to have been buried in Ammonite land, it is impossible to say. Identifications of this kind are easily made by popular fancy. In the same country Robinson found a sarcophagus, twelve feet long by six feet broad, which the Bedouin call Hiram's tomb.

Ammon? Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, according to the ordinary cubit. 12. And this land¹ we took in possession at that time. From Aroer, which is on the ravine of Arnon, and half the mountain-land of Gilead and its cities I gave to the Reubenites and the Gadites. 13. And the rest of Gilead and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, I gave to the half tribe of Manasseh, the whole district of Argob.—All that Bashan is called a land of Rephaim. 14. Jair the son of Manasseh took all the district of Argob, as far as the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites, and called them, namely Bashan, after his own

¹ 'And this land,' etc., vv. 12-17. We have here two accounts of the settlements east of the Jordan. First, in vv. 12-13, the Deuteronomical writer puts the matter compactly, and with tolerable clearness, in his own words. The land from the Arnon to the middle of Gilead (*i.e.* probably as far north as the Jabbok) was given by Moses to the tribes of Reuben and Gad. The rest of Gilead and all Bashan (*i.e.* probably the district between the Jabbok and the southern slopes of Hermon) was given by Moses to the half-tribe of Manasseh. Then follows, in vv. 14-17, a fresh account of the same thing, which, whether by the Deuteronomical writer himself, or as Dillm. and Driver suppose, by an interpolator, at all events is based on the statements of the Elohist in Num. xxxii. 39-42. These details are united to Deuteronomical ideas, and hence arise confusion and contradiction, of which these are the chief instances: (1.) According to the Elohist, Jair and Nobah made certain conquests in Bashan and called them by their own names. Jair in particular called the places from which he drove the Amorites 'tent-villages of Jair.' This is intelligible, and is historical, so far at least as this, that there were thirty tent-villages belonging to the clan Jair, all branches of the clan tracing their descent to a heros eponymus from whom they took their name. Comp. Judges x. 3-5. But in Deut. iii. 14 no mention is made of Nobah; Jair is said to have subdued the whole of Bashan, and to have called 'them [whom?] tent-villages of Jair.' Now, considering that Argob, a district of Bashan, did itself contain sixty walled cities (Deut. iii. 4, 5; 1 Kings iv. 13), the statement about the tent-villages of Jair becomes senseless. (2.) The words in ver. 14 are, 'Jair . . . took all the district of Argob . . . and called them [masculine pronoun], namely Bashan, after his name, tent-villages of Jair.' The writer of this verse seems to have substituted 'the district of Argob' for 'tent-villages of the Amorites,' which he found in the Elohist text, without taking time to make the grammar suit the change of idea. (3.) In ver. 15 the name Gilead is taken in a restricted sense for North Gilead, and therefore the whole of Gilead is assigned to the Manassite clan Machire. In ver. 12 Gilead is taken in a wider sense, and only half of it is given to the Manassites.

name, tent-villages¹ of Jair, [and so they are called] to this day. 15. And I gave Gilead to Machir. 16. And to the Reubenites and Gadites I gave from Gilead to the valley of Arnon, the middle of the valley serving also for a boundary, as far as the river Jabbok, which is the boundary of the children of Ammon, 17. and the Arabah, with the Jordan for a boundary, from Chinnereth as far as the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, beneath the slopes of Pisgah eastward.

THE TWO AND A HALF TRIBES TO MARCH IN THE VAN FOR THE
CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

18. And I commanded you² at that time, saying, Yahwè your God has given you this land to possess it; you shall pass over armed, all that are men of valour, before your brethren the children of Israel. 19. Only your wives and your little ones and your cattle—I know that you have much cattle—shall dwell in your cities which I have given you; 20. until Yahwè give rest to your brethren, as to you, and they also possess the land which Yahwè your God is giving them beyond Jordan: then shall you return every man to his possession which I have given you. 21. And I commanded³ Joshua at that time, saying, Thine eyes are those that saw all that Yahwè your God has done to these two kings; so shall Yahwè do to all the kingdoms whither thou art going over. 22. You shall not fear them, for it is Yahwè your God who fights for you.

¹ 'Tent-villages.' The Hebrew is apparently the same as the Arabic, *hiwā*.

² 'And I commanded you,' etc., vv. 18-20. Compare the narrative of the Elohist, Num. xxxii. 16, 17, 24. The Deuteronomical writer, however, makes one characteristic alteration. In the Elohist, the tribes of Reuben and Gad ask permission to leave their families and cattle behind, of which proposal Moses readily approves, on condition that they take the van in the invasion of Canaan. Here the whole initiative comes from Moses himself.

³ 'And I commanded,' etc., vv. 21, 22. The Deuteronomical writer cares little for chronological order. Here Moses 'commands,' or rather gives direction to Joshua. Yet further on, in ver. 28, Yahwè tells Moses to 'command' Joshua, and Moses does so, Deut. xxxi. 7. Dillm. supposes that vv. 21, 22 have been moved from their original place in Deut. xxxi. 7 seq.

THE PRAYER OF MOSES TO ENTER CANAAN REFUSED.

JOSHUA APPOINTED.

23. *And I made supplication¹ to Yahwè at that time, saying,*
 24. *O Lord Yahwè, thou hast begun to show thy servant thy greatness and thy strong hand: for what god is there in heaven or earth that can do according to thy works and mighty acts?* 25. *Let me go over, I pray thee, and see the good land that is beyond Jordan, this good mountain-land and Lebanon.* 26. *But Yahwè was enraged with me for your sakes, and did not listen to me: and Yahwè said to me, Enough of this: speak no more to me of this matter.* 27. *Go up to the top of Pisgah,² and lift up thine eyes westward, northward, southward, and eastward, and see with thine eyes, for thou shalt not pass over this Jordan.* 28. *But command Joshua, and encourage him, and strengthen him, for he shall pass over before this people, and he shall allot to them the land which thou seest.*

29. *So we abode in the valley over against Beth-peor.*

OBSERVANCE OF THE LAW ISRAEL'S GLORY.

IV. 1. *And now, O Israel,³ listen to the statutes and judgments*

¹ 'And I made supplication.' This prayer of Moses, 23-25, is not mentioned in the other documents, and seems to be an original contribution of the Deuteronomical writer.

² 'Go up to the top of Pisgah.' The 'Priestly Writer' also relates (Num. xxvii. 12-14) that Moses was allowed to see Palestine before his death. He, however, speaks of Moses as ascending the 'mountain of Abarim.' The Deuteronomical writer, on the other hand, places the scene at Pisgah. This probably involves no contradiction, Pisgah (or rather the Pisgah, *i.e.* perhaps, 'the cleft,' from Aram. 'Pesag,' to cleave) being that part of the Abarim range which declines towards the north-east end of the Dead Sea. But the difference of name is not accidental. The 'Priestly Writer' always speaks of Abarim (comp. Num. xxxiii. 47, Deut. xxxii. 49), while the 'Oldest Book' and the Deuteronomical writer always use the name Pisgah (comp. Num. xxi. 20, xxiii. 14, Deut. iii. 17, Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20). Probably the Deuteronomical writer followed an account in the 'Oldest Book,' which has been omitted by the final editor of the Hexateuch to make room for the Priestly narrative, Num. xxvii. 12-14.

³ 'And now, O Israel.' Here the introductory address changes its char-

which I am teaching you, to do them, that you may live and go in and possess the land which Yahwè the God of your fathers is giving you. 2. You shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish from it, that you may keep the commandments of Yahwè your God which I am commanding you. 3. It is your eyes that have seen what Yahwè did because of Baal-peor,¹ since every man that went after Baal-peor, Yahwè destroyed him from the midst of thee. 4. But you that did cleave to Yahwè your God are alive every one of you this day. 5. See, I have taught you statutes and judgments,² as Yahwè my God commanded me, that you may do so in the midst of the land, whither you are going to possess it. 6. Keep therefore and do them, for this is your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these statutes and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. 7. For what great nation is there that has a god so near them, as Yahwè our God is whenever we call upon him? 8. And what great nation is there that has statutes and judgments so righteous as all this instruction which I am setting before you this day?

THE SPIRITUAL NATURE OF YAHWÈ. THE PERIL OF IDOLATRY.

9. Only take heed to thyself³ and keep thy soul diligently, lest

acter. Moses passes from an historical review of Yahwè's care of Israel to direct exhortation. In 1-8 he implores the Israelites to keep the law which he is about to announce, since their welfare and reputation depend on that.

¹ 'What Yahwè did because of Baal-peor.' The allusion is to the narrative in the 'Oldest Book' (Num. xxv. 1-5).

² 'See, I have taught you statutes and judgments.' No statutes had been taught as yet; the design of the introduction is to prepare the people for statutes about to be taught. But the author of Deut. i. 1—iv. 43 was later than that of the legislation proper contained in iv. 44—xxviii. Here he forgets to play the part he assumes consistently. He betrays his familiarity with the law, and uses the past tense instead of the future. See, however, note on ver. 30.

³ 'Only take heed to thyself.' The general exhortation to observe the law is followed by the special injunction to which supreme importance is attached, viz. to worship Yahwè alone, and him without the use of any image. But Cornill (*Einleit. in das A. T.*, p. 38) gives strong reasons for believing that

thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from thy heart all the days of thy life; but make them known to thy children and thy children's children; 10. the day

this exhortation is not by the same hand which wrote i. 6—iv. 8, 44. In i. 6—iv. 8, 44, we have an historical introduction evidently written at a time when Deuteronomy formed a separate book, and had not been united to the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History.' In iv. 1-8 we have a brief exhortation to observe the law which is about to be proclaimed, while iv. 44 is the natural sequel of iv. 8, supplying the link between the historical introduction and the law itself. In iv. 9-40 we find differences of view and of language. Of view, for in iv. 9-13 the persons addressed have seen the circumstances of the legislation at Horeb with their own eyes, whereas, according to i. 35, ii. 14-16, the 'men of war' present at Horeb had perished before Moses spoke to the people in the plains of Moab. In iv. 27-31 the exile is taken for granted, and the question is how the people are to escape from it. There is also a marked difference of language, and this is the decisive point, for the differences in matter of fact might perhaps be explained by the looseness of the rhetorical style. We find words and phrases which are unknown in the rest of Deuteronomy, and which remind us at once of Ezekiel and the 'Priestly Writer.' Such are 'male and female' (זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה) here in 16, the same collocation, or an analogous one, 'whether male or female,' being common in the 'Priestly Writer': the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History' expresses the idea differently in Gen. vii. 2: 'figure' (סִמּוּל, only here and in Ezek. viii. 3, 5; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 15): 'likeness' (תְּבִינִית) here 16, 17, 18; in the 'Priestly Writer,' Exod. xxv. 9, 40, Josh. xxii. 28; in Ezek. viii. 3, 10; x. 8; in 2 Kings xvi. 10; in second Isaiah xliv. 13; in Ps. cxliv. 12, cvi. 20; in 1 Chron. xxviii. 11, 12, 18, 19); 'winged fowl' (צִפּוֹר כָּנָף) here 17; in the 'Priestly Writer,' Gen. vii. 14; in Ezek. xvii. 23; xxxix. 4, 17; in Ps. cxlviii. 10); הִוָּלֵךְ; 'to beget' (about sixty times, according to Giesebrecht, in the 'Priestly Writer'; but also in Deut. xxviii. 41); נִלְשָׁן, for to 'grow old,' to 'become habituated to' (only here 25, and in the 'Priestly Writer' Lev. xiii. 11, xxvi. 10); 'God created' (בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים): the collocation is only found in the 'Priestly Writer,' and though this may be accidental, it is to be noted that בָּרָא is found nowhere else in Deuteronomy). We may also observe that the zeal of the attack on idolatry (12, 15-18, 23, 25) goes beyond anything to be found in the rest of Deuteronomy. It is true that the influence of Deuteronomical thought and language is visible throughout. This, however, is no objection to the theory which attributes iv. 9-40 to a different and later hand than that which wrote the historical introduction. Dillmann, indeed, suggests that iv. 1-40 may have belonged to the original book of Deuteronomy, that the section has been moved from its place at the end of the book, and that the linguistic peculiarities are due to the hand of an editor. He fails, however, to explain why these alterations in style were made. The words and phrases in question occur quite naturally.

that thou didst stand¹ before Yahwè thy God in Horeb, when Yahwè said to me, Assemble me the people and I will make them hear my words, that they may learn to fear me all the days that they live upon the earth, and that they may teach their children. 11. *And you came near and stood under the mountain, and the mountain burned with fire to the heart of heaven, with darkness, cloud, and thick mist.* 12. *And Yahwè spoke to you from the midst of the fire; you heard the sound of words, but you saw no form: only [you heard] a voice.* 13. *And he declared to you his covenant, which he commanded you to do, the ten words, and he wrote them on two tables of stone.* 14. *And me did Yahwè command at that time to teach you statutes and judgments, that you might do them in the land whither you are passing to possess it.* 15. *Take therefore good heed to yourselves, for you saw no form on the day that Yahwè spoke to you at Horeb from the midst of the fire:* 16. *lest you act corruptly and make you a graven image in the form of any statue, the figure of male or female,* 17. *the figure of any quadruped that is on the earth, the figure of any winged bird that flies in the heavens,* 18. *the figure of anything that creeps on the ground, the figure of any fish that is in the water under the earth:* 19. *and lest when thou liftest up thine eyes to the heavens*

¹ 'The day that thou didst stand.' The account of the events at Horeb (vv. 10-14) is borrowed from the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xix., xx. But, apart from slight differences in detail, the Deuteronomical author (1.) exaggerates the awfulness of the scene. According to the 'Oldest Book,' Yahwè descends in fire, and the mountain therefore smokes (Exod. xix. 18); here we are told that the mountain was on fire, the huge conflagration rose to the very heart of the sky, in striking contrast with the background of thick darkness. (2.) The Deuteronomical writer makes a point of the fact that Yahwè did not appear in any definite form or figure. This is implied, no doubt, in the 'Oldest Book.' But the Deuteronomical writer states it expressly for a theological purpose. (3.) The Deuteronomical writer makes the covenant at Horeb consist simply of the 'Ten Words,' or Decalogue. He ignores the Book of the Covenant. Not, of course, that he was ignorant of a legislation which is the basis of Deuteronomy. But he could not allow that it was given at Horeb. In his scheme it is replaced by the 'statutes and judgments' which were imparted to Moses on Horeb, but promulgated for the first time thirty-eight years afterwards, when the Israelites were on the threshold of Palestine.

and seest the sun and the moon and the stars, the whole host of the heavens,¹ thou be drawn away to bow down to them and serve them, which Yahwè thy God has apportioned² to all the peoples under the whole compass of the heavens. 20. But you has Yahwè taken and brought you forth from the iron [smelting] furnace, from Egypt, to be a people which is his inheritance, as at this day. 21. But Yahwè was angry with me for your sakes,³ and swore that I should not pass over Jordan and that I should not go to that good land, which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance: 22. but I must die in this land, I must not pass over Jordan, but you will pass over and possess this good land. 23. Take heed to yourselves lest you forget the covenant of Yahwè your God which he concluded with you, and make you a graven image in the form of

¹ 'The whole host of heaven.' The writer is speaking of worship given, not to the sun-god or his image, but directly to the sun, moon, and stars themselves. They were believed to be animated, and they were adored 'on the roofs' of houses. This worship of the 'host of heaven' is first mentioned by writers of the eighth century B.C., and was due to Assyrian influence. Comp. 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxiii. 5, 12; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13, vii. 18, xliv. 17; Ezek. viii. 16. The Hebrews had no inclination to abandon the worship of Yahwè, their national God. Nor did they associate other gods with him in any arbitrary way. But when Judah under Ahaz became a vassal kingdom to Assyria, the Assyrian deities had, according to common Hebrew notions, a claim to recognition by the inhabitants of Judah. They had become, in a sense, the gods of the land. Similarly, at an earlier period, Ahab built a temple for the Tyrian Baal, because there was an alliance between northern Israel and Tyre. Yahwè, therefore, and Baal were the gods who watched over the treaty, and the Israelites had relations to both. But, of course, this mixture of religions was a breach of the Mosaic principle, which prescribed, not indeed monotheism, *i.e.* belief in one god, but monolatry, *i.e.* worship of one god only. Still more was it opposed to the teaching of the literary prophets, who spoke of Yahwè as a God who was absolutely righteous, and who desired righteousness as the one acceptable service. Such a deity differed in kind from the nature-gods of the other nations. For the meaning of Jeremiah vii. 18, xliv. 7, comp. Kuenen's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 186, *seq.*

² 'Yahwè thy God has appointed.' Yahwè is the only God (see vv. 35 and 39), but according to the peculiar view here stated, Yahwè only desired the worship of Israel, and actually gave the nations inferior objects of adoration. So strict is the monotheism of the writer that he explains even heathen religions by the will of the one God.

³ 'Yahwè was angry with me for your sakes.' See note on i. 37.

any thing which Yahwè thy God has forbidden you. 24. For Yahwè thy God is a devouring fire, a jealous God.

ISRAEL'S IDOLATRY AND CONSEQUENT EXILE. ITS FINAL
CONVERSION.

25. When thou shalt beget children and children's children and be grown old in the land, if you act corruptly and make a graven image in the form of anything and do that which is evil in the eyes of Yahwè your God, so as to vex him : 26. I call the heavens and the earth to witness against you this day, that you shall soon utterly perish from off the land, to which you are passing over the Jordan to possess it : you shall not spend a long time upon it, but shall be destroyed utterly. 27. And Yahwè shall scatter you among the peoples, and you shall be left few in number among the nations, to which Yahwè shall lead you away. 28. And there you shall serve gods the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see nor hear, nor eat nor smell.¹ 29. From that place shalt

¹ 'Gods the work of men's hands, wood and stone, which neither see nor hear, nor eat nor smell.' The writer assumes that the heathen gods have no existence, and, consequently, that their worship was really the worship of a senseless image. The belief of the more educated heathen that the image was a symbol of the god, and the grosser superstition which looked upon the image as inhabited, and, as it were, animated by the spirit of the deity, are both excluded. This contemptuous view of heathen image-worship appears for the first time towards the close of the seventh century B.C. Hosea and Isaiah had contented themselves with describing the Israelite use of idols as mere idolatry. Jeremiah (xvi. 20) and Habakkuk (ii. 18) are the first who hold the same language of heathen ritual ; not till a time later still do we see any real parallel to the explicit statement in our text that the heathen deities are absolutely lifeless. No doubt Jeremiah x. 1-16 closely resembles the passage before us, but it is probably an interpolation written after the exile (see Baudissin, *Stud. zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, i. p. 86 ; Kuen. *Onderz.* ii. § 53. 9 ; Driver, *Introduction to O. T.*, p. 239). The second Isaiah (xliv. 9-20, xlv. 5 *seq.*) agrees in argument and tone with the interpolated section of Jeremiah, and it is very likely that the interpolation of Jeremiah and the prophecies appended to Isaiah issued from the same literary circle. It is not, of course, surprising to find their idea of image-worship adopted in such late productions as Ps. cxv. and cxxxv. See also Deut. xxvii. 15, xxviii. 36, 64, xxxi. 29.

thou seek¹ Yahwè thy God and shalt find him, if thou search after him with all thy heart and with all thy soul. 30. When thou art in tribulation and all these things are come upon thee, in the after time thou shalt return to Yahwè thy God and shalt hear his voice : 31. for Yahwè thy God is a merciful God ; he will not fail thee nor destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he swore unto them.

32. For ask now of the early days, which were before thee, from the day when God created man on the earth, and from the one end of the heavens to the other, whether so great a thing, as this, has happened, or whether the like of it has been heard : 33. whether any people ever heard the voice of a god speaking from the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard it, and remained alive : 34. or whether a god ever assayed to come [on earth] that he might take him a nation from the midst of [another] nation, by trials,² by signs, and by marvels and by war, and by a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm, and by great terrors, as Yahwè thy God did, all of it, to you in Egypt before thine eyes. 35. To thee was it shown, that thou mightest know that Yahwè is the [true] God, that there is none else beside him. 36. From the heavens he made thee hear his voice, to discipline thee : and upon earth he made thee see his great fire ; and thou didst hear his words out of the midst of the fire. 37. And because he loved³ thy fathers and chose their seed⁴ after them, and in his own person brought thee with his great power out of

¹ 'From that place shalt thou seek,' etc. The writer does not seriously endeavour to save his people from apostasy and the exile, which was its penalty. Both are accomplished facts, and his object is to stimulate true repentance and the good hope of national restoration.

² 'Trials.' The Hebrew word employed here (מִסָּה) occurs, apart from its use as a proper name, in Deut. vii. 19, xxix. 2, and nowhere else in the Hexateuch. Outside of the Hexateuch it is only found in Job ix. 23. It is not quite clear who it was that Yahwè put to trial or proof. Most commentators (Keil, Knobel, Dillm.) suppose that the reference is to Pharaoh and his courtiers, whose pride and obstinacy Yahwè tested.

³ 'Because he loved.' The same verb 'loved' (אָהַב) is used Deut. vii. 13, xxiii. 6, of Yahwè's love to man. It is not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch.

⁴ 'Their seed.' So Sam., LXX. Onk. Pesh., Vulg.

Egypt, 38. to drive out nations from before thee, nations greater and mightier than thou, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as at this day: 39. thou shalt acknowledge this day and bethink thyself, that Yahwè is the [one] God in the heavens above and in earth beneath, and that there is none other, 40. and thou shalt keep his statutes and commandments which I command thee this day, that it may go well with thee and with thy children after thee, and that thou mayest prolong thy days for ever upon the ground which Yahwè thy God is giving thee.

(41. Then Moses separated¹ three cities beyond Jordan toward the sunrising, 42. that the manslayer might flee thither, who slays his neighbour unawares without having hated him in time past, and by flight to one of these cities might escape with his life: 43. [namely] Bezer in the wilderness, in the table-land, for the Reubenites, and Ramoth in Gilead for the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan for the Manassites.)

¹ 'Then Moses separated,' etc., vv. 41-43. The 'forlorn' position of these verses, as Wellh. calls it, is clear enough, but it is hard, perhaps impossible, to determine their origin. We cannot attribute them, with Kautzsch, to the 'Priestly Writer.' According to him (Num. xxxv. 14, Josh. xx.), it was Joshua who separated the cities in question. He has, moreover, a technical term for the cities, viz. 'cities of refuge,' which is conspicuous by its absence here. Nor, again, can Cornill (*Einleit. A. T.*, pp. 41, 42) be right in attributing them to the final editor of the Pentateuch, who would not have inserted a gratuitous contradiction of the passages in the 'Priestly Writer.' The style is Deuteronomical (comp. Deut. xix. 2-4), nor is Wellh. (*Hexat.* xxii. p. 476) justified in his assertion that the verses before us contradict Deut. xix. 1-10. The legislator of Deuteronomy thinks chiefly of the country west of the Jordan; there he commands the Israelites to separate three, and, in case their territory became very ample, six cities, that the 'manslayer may flee thither.' The verses before us correct the omission of the legislator, and point out that there were also three such cities east of Jordan. This proves that the author of iv. 41-43 is distinct from the author of xix. 1-10, who, had he observed the omission in the text of his law would have corrected it accordingly (Kuen. *Onderz.* i. Pt. i. § 7. 17 d.). It does not prove that iv. 41-43 may not come from the pen which wrote the historical introduction to the Deuteronomical code. We are still, however, left with the difficulty that iv. 41-43 dislocate the connection of the context. Perhaps the best suggestion yet made is that of Westphal (*Scources du Pentateuque*, vol. ii. p. 83), viz. that the verses originally followed iii. 29.

44. *And this is the law¹ which Moses set before the children of Israel.*

45. These are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgments which Moses spoke to the children of Israel, when they came out of Egypt; 46 beyond Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they came out of Egypt; 47. and they took his land in possession and the land of Og king of Bashan, the two kings of the Amorites who were beyond Jordan toward the sunrising: 48. from Aroer which is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon to Mount Sion,² that is, Hermon, 49. and all the Arabah beyond Jordan eastward, as far as the sea of the Arabah, beneath the slopes of Pisgah.

¹ 'This is the law,' etc. We may with Dillm. regard this verse as of a piece with vv. 45-49. In this case vv. 44-49 form the superscription to the kernel of Deuteronomy, viz. v.—xxvi. We must translate, 'This is the instruction which Moses set before the children of Israel. These are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments which Moses spoke to the children of Israel,' etc. The 'instruction' would refer to the hortatory introduction in v.—xi., the 'testimonies, statutes, and judgments' would describe the law, strictly so called, in xii.—xxvi. But it seems unlikely that the same hand should have written in ver. 44, 'which Moses set before the children of Israel,' and then added, 'which Moses spoke to the children of Israel,' in the very next verse. Probably Cornill is right in holding that 44 is the link by which the author or compiler of i.—iv. 43 connected his preface with the main body of Deuteronomy. Then in 45-49 we have the original superscription of Deut. v.—xxvi., before i.—iv. 44 had been added.

² 'Mount Sion, that is, Hermon.' In iii. 9 we are told (1.) that the Sidonians called Mount Hermon Sirion; (2) that the Amorites called it Senir. Here we have a third name, viz. Sion. The writer or compiler of the preface to Deuteronomy is fond of such archæological and geographical details, and an editor might very well have added a fresh name of Hermon here. We should, however, have expected him to begin with the usual name Hermon, and then to have told us who called Hermon Sion. Probably an editor of Deuteronomy wrote, not Sion, but Sirion, assuming that his readers knew the origin of the name from the notice in iii. 9. This reading is still preserved in the Peshitto. (So Kusters, *Historie-beschouwing van den Deuteronomist*, p. 79. Dillm. defends the common reading on insufficient grounds.)

THE COVENANT ON THE BASIS OF THE DECALOGUE.

V. 1. And Moses called to all Israel¹ and said to them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgments which I speak in your ears this day, that you may learn them and observe to do them. 2. Yahwè our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. 3. Not with our fathers² did Yahwè make this covenant, but with us, even us, who are all of us alive here this day. 4. Face to face³ did Yahwè speak to you in the Mount out of the midst of the fire. 5. I stood between Yahwè and you at that time,⁴ to report to you the word of Yahwè; for you were afraid because of the fire and did not go up into the mountain—saying: 6. I am

¹ 'And Moses called to all Israel,' *i.e.* called Israel together. Comp. Gen. xlix. 1. Here we pass from the superscription to the first part of the original Deuteronomy. This part consists of a long hortatory address extending to the end of ch. xi. Moses begins in ch. v. by repeating the fundamental laws of the Decalogue, which Yahwè himself gave the people at Horeb. Then he explains that the other laws were communicated to him alone, because the people were afraid to hear more directly from the voice of Yahwè. The narrative in this chapter is based upon the 'Oldest Book of Hebrew History,' as given in vol. i. of this work, pp. 140, 141. We have already seen that the historical introduction depends upon the 'Oldest Book.' We shall discover a similar dependence throughout the whole of the rhetorical address, ch. v.—xi. But the author of the address, like the author of the historical introduction, uses at every turn the phrases, and gives prominence to the ideas of the Deuteronomist and his school.

² 'Not with our fathers.' See note on ii. 14. Dillm. tries to remove the contradiction between the historical introduction and the statement here and in xi. 2-7.

³ 'Face to face.' The phrase occurs in the Elohist, Exod. xxxiii. 11. The fire which enveloped Yahwè is also mentioned in the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xix. 18.

⁴ 'I stood between Yahwè and you at that time.' According to ver. 4 the people received the decalogue directly and immediately from Yahwè. According to the parenthetical notice of ver. 5, the decalogue was communicated through the mediation of Moses. The narrative in the 'Oldest Book' (vol. i. p. 136, Exod. xix. 26 *seq.*), as a whole, implies that the people heard the decalogue from Yahwè directly. However, in Exod. xix. 9, 19, 24, there are traces of another view, viz. that the people did indeed hear the sound of Yahwè's voice, but learned the actual words which Yahwè spoke from Moses. The parenthesis may have been added by a later hand, and we can scarcely believe that the original writer contradicted himself so abruptly.

Yahwè thy God,¹ who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slaves. 7. Thou shalt have no other gods beside me. 8. Thou shalt not make for thyself a graven image of any form² that is in the heavens above or that is in the earth beneath or which is in the waters under the earth: 9. thou shalt not bow thyself down to them or serve them, for I Yahwè thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of fathers upon children, and that to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, 10. and showing kindness³ to thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

11. Thou shalt not utter the name of Yahwè thy God for a vain cause, for Yahwè will not hold him guiltless, who utters his name for a vain cause.

12. Observe the Sabbath day⁴ to sanctify it, as Yahwè thy God

¹ 'I am Yahwè thy God,' etc. Here we have the Deuteronomical version of the 'Ten Words.' This version differs from that given in the 'Oldest Book' (vol. i. p. 139 *seq.*), in three ways: (1.) The author of Deuteronomy had a text of the 'Ten Words' before him, older and, in some particulars, better than that which we now possess in Exod. xx. Hence the original reading in Exodus may occasionally be restored with the help of Deuteronomy. (2.) The author of Deuteronomy expands the original version in his own diffuse and rhetorical style. (3.) He has emended the text of the 'Ten Words' in that humane spirit which is characteristic of himself.

² 'A graven image of any form. See note 1 on p. 140, vol. i.

³ 'Showing kindness,' etc. An expansion by the author of Deuteronomy. See note 2 on p. 140, vol. i.

⁴ 'Observe the Sabbath-day,' etc. In this Sabbath law the Deuteronomist makes several changes, some of which are significant: (1.) He has 'Observe the Sabbath-day,' not, as Exodus, 'Remember' it. Considering how fond the Deuteronomist is of the word 'observe,' we may conclude that he himself made this change, perhaps unconsciously. (2.) He has added, 'As Yahwè thy God commanded thee,' 'or thine ox or thine ass,' 'or the stranger that is within thy gates.' At least the first and last are clearly additions, because they are in the Deuteronomical style. It is hard to say what he intended by asserting that Yahwè had already commanded the keeping of the Sabbath. He may have thought it a primitive institution. As a matter of fact, the Assyrians kept a 'day of the rest of the heart' on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month Elul, and probably also of the other months, with certain observances which at least bound the king. But the analogy is both precarious and imperfect. Comp. Nowack, *Hebr. Archä.* ii. p. 143, *seq.* (3.) Whereas in the 'Oldest Book' the command

commanded thee. 13. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work : but the seventh day is a Sabbath to Yahwè thy God ; [in it] thou shalt not do any work, thou, or thy son, or thy daughter, or thy male or female slave, or thine ox, or thine ass, or thy cattle, or the settler whom thou hast within thy gates ; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest, as well as thou. 15. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Yahwè thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm ; therefore Yahwè thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.

16. Honour thy father and thy mother, as Yahwè thy God¹ commanded thee, that thy days may be long, and that it may be well with thee on the ground which Yahwè thy God is giving thee.

17. Thou shalt do no murder.

And thou shalt not commit adultery.

And thou shalt not steal.

And thou shalt not bear vain witness² against thy neighbour.

18. And thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife.³ And

to remember the Sabbath is a mere command, no reason for it being given (see, however, Budde, *Biblische Urgeschichte*, p. 493, *seq.*), the Deuteronomist adds the purpose—that 'thy male and female slave may rest as well as thou,' and the reason, viz. that Yahwè had freed the Israelites from the slavery of Egypt. The humane spirit and the style are here both Deuteronomical. For example, the combination 'mighty hand and stretched-out arm' first occurs in Deuteronomy (see Driver's *Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 92, No. 10 ; also p. 93, No. 16). Thus we have in Deuteronomy the third stage of the Sabbath law. The earliest is in Exod. xxxiv. 21 : 'Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest.' The second is the more elaborate precept in Exod. xx. 8-10.

¹ 'As Yahwè thy God,' etc. Thence to the end of the verse we have an addition by the Deuteronomist. For the proof that the language is his, see Driver's *Introduction*, pp. 91 *seq.*, No. 3. 21. 4. See also note on ver. 12 of this chapter.

² 'Vain witness.' Here we have the original text. 'False witness' (שקר) for (שוא) has been substituted in Exod. xx. 16 to remove all doubt about the sense.

³ 'Thou shalt not desire thy neighbour's wife,' etc. Here the Deuteronomist has made a notable change in the interests of a later and higher

thou shalt not long for thy neighbour's house, his field, his male or his female slave, his ox or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.

19. These words Yahwè spoke to all your assembly in the mountain from the midst of the fire and the cloud and the thick mist with a loud voice; and he added no more. And he wrote them on two tables of stone and gave them to me.¹ 20. And it came to pass, when you heard the voice from the midst of the darkness,² while the mountain burned with fire, that you drew near to me,—all the heads of your tribes and your elders;³ 21. and you said, Behold, Yahwè our God has shown us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice from the midst of the fire: this day have we seen that Yahwè can speak with man and still leave him alive. 22. And now why should we die? For this great fire will consume us: if we hear the voice of Yahwè our God any more, we shall die. 23. For who of all flesh is there, that has heard the voice of the living God speaking from

morality. The original form of this commandment in Exod. xx. forbids an Israelite to covet his neighbour's house, *i.e.* his 'familia' or household possessions. The legislator then proceeds to enumerate the chief of these possessions, viz., wife, male and female slaves, ox, ass, etc. The view of the Deuteronomist is very different. He begins with a distinct and separate prohibition of coveting a neighbour's wife. Then using a new verb he forbids desire of a neighbour's property in house, slaves, cattle, etc. Thus (1.) he implies that a wife is not a chattel; (2.) he uses the word 'house' for the mere fabric, not for all that house and stable shelter.

¹ 'And he wrote them on two tables of stone and gave them to me.' From this point to the end of ver. 25 our author follows the 'Oldest Book' (in this case the Elohist), as given in Exod. xxxi. 18, xx. 18-21. The Deuteronomist has inverted the order of the story in one particular. He mentions the writing of the Decalogue on stone before describing the desire of the people that for the future Yahwè should speak directly to Moses only. But this transposition is merely meant to secure neatness in the narrative, by finishing once and for all the history of the Decalogue.

² 'The midst of the darkness.' The LXX. have 'of the fire.'

³ 'All the heads of tribes and your elders.' This parenthesis breaks the grammatical connection; is not in the manner of the Deuteronomist, who never mentions expressly 'the heads of tribes,' etc., when he speaks of the people's intercourse with Moses (comp., however, i. 15), and may therefore, as Dillmann suggests, be an interpolation.

the midst of the fire, as we have, and lived? 24. Go thou near and hear all that Yahwè our God will say: and speak thou to us all that Yahwè our God shall speak to thee; and we will hear and do. 25. And Yahwè heard the voice of your words, when you spoke to me, and Yahwè said to me, I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken to thee: they have well said all that they have spoken. 26. Oh that their heart¹ in them were such that they would fear me and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them and with their children for ever. 27. Go say to them, Return ye to your tents. 28. But as for thee, stand thou here by me, and I will speak to thee all the commandment and the statutes and the judgments, which thou shalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I am giving them to possess it. 29. Therefore observe to do according to that which Yahwè your God has commanded you;² you shall not turn aside to right or left. 30. You shall walk in all the way which Yahwè your God has commanded you, that you may live and that it may be well

¹ 'Their heart.' Their words are good. Would that their heart also were equally good!

² 'Has commanded you.' See note on iv. 5. The Deuteronomist, like the Deuteronomical writer there, forgets for the moment that the legislation has not yet been given to the people. It does not, however, follow that the writer of the passage is distinct from the author of Deuteronomy in its strictly legislative portion. For (1.) the writer may have fallen into inconsistency with himself. (2.) We may suppose with Kuenen that the same author wrote the legislative portion, and then later added the hortatory introduction in iv. 44—xxviii. It may be said that if either explanation will suffice here it will also remove the objection drawn from iv. 5 against the belief that the historical introduction also (i.—iv. 44) is from the hand of the original Deuteronomist. I answer that the objection, if it stood alone, would be no sufficient token of diverse authorship. But I add (3.) that here the language is less definite, and therefore less difficult. In iv. 5 Moses speaks of 'statutes and judgments' which he had 'taught' the people, and this, according to the account in Deuteronomy, is untrue. Here it is merely said that God had 'commanded' the people, which is true so far as this, that the commands had been given to Moses for the benefit of the people. The Israelites were to prepare themselves for obedience to a law, not yet promulgated, but virtually given them already.

with you and that you may prolong your days on the land which you shall possess.

THE FUNDAMENTAL DUTY OF LOVE AND LOYALTY TO YAHWÈ.

VI. 1. Now this is the commandment, the statutes,¹ and the judgments which Yahwè your God commanded to teach you to do in the land to which you are passing over to possess it: 2. that thou mayest fear Yahwè thy God, so as to keep all his statutes and his commandments which I am commanding thee,² thou and thy son and thy son's son, all the days of thy life and that thy days may be long. 3. Hear therefore, Israel, and observe to do, that it may be well with thee, and that you may multiply exceedingly, as Yahwè the God of thy fathers has promised thee.³

4. Hear, Israel, Yahwè our God is one Yahwè:⁴ 5. therefore

¹ 'The statutes.' The LXX. here have 'and the statutes,' as the Massoretic text in v. 28, vii. 11. Here, however, the connecting particle may have been omitted before 'statutes,' because 'the commandments' indicates those wider moral and religious precepts, which 'the statutes and judgments' apply in detail.

² 'Commanding thee.' The LXX. and Sam. add 'this day.'

³ 'As Yahwè thy God has promised thee.' The Massoretic text adds 'a land flowing with milk and honey,' which must be an interpolation, for it makes no sense, and cannot be construed, as 'in a land flowing with milk and honey.' See Gesen., *Gramm.*, § 118. 1. The LXX. translate 'as the Lord thy God has promised to give thee a land,' etc. This involves the addition of a verb 'to give,' and we might compare xix. 8.

⁴ 'One Yahwè.' The sentence does not make an abstract assertion of monotheism. It is not said that Yahwè is the only God, but that he is the one Yahwè. This implies (1.) that whereas there are many Baals, named after particular places, etc., Yahwè is always one person. The same idea that there were many Yahwès could hardly fail to arise when Yahwè was worshipped with diverse rites at local shrines. (2.) That one Being, and one only, deserves the name of Yahwè, and that, therefore, the God of Israel is not to be confused with other so-called gods, such as Chemosh, the Tyrian Baal, the heavenly bodies, etc. The centralisation of worship, and the duty of loving Yahwè with the whole strength, both follow from the conception of Yahwè as one, and are both characteristic of Deuteronomy. See vol. i. p. 140; Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, p. 273; and also Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*, p. 70. The latter aptly compares the policy of Mohammed who, in the interests of monotheism, reduced the many sacred

thou shalt love Yahwè thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength. 6. And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart, 7. and thou shalt impress them on thy children, and shalt speak of them, when thou sittest in thy house and walkest on the road, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. 8. And thou shalt bind them¹ for a sign upon thy hand and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. 9. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house and upon thy gates.

10. And it shall be, when Yahwè thy God shall bring thee into the land which he swore to thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give thee; cities great and goodly which thou didst not build, 11. houses full of all good things which thou didst not fill, and cisterns hewn out, which thou didst not hew, vineyards and olive trees which thou didst not plant, and thou shalt eat and be full; 12. then beware lest thou forget Yahwè, who brought thee out from the land of Egypt from the house of slaves. 13. Yahwè thy God shalt thou fear and him shalt thou

places of heathen Arabia to the one shrine, that of the Ka'ba at Mecca, with which the shrines in the immediate neighbourhood were incorporated. In Deuteronomy love to Yahwè means primarily and explicitly adherence to the worship of Yahwè, with absolute exclusion of idolatry or the worship of other gods, in any form. No doubt it implied moral elements, for the simple reason that Yahwè demanded a much higher morality from his servants than, e.g. the Canaanite Baals did. But morality is not the first thought which the love of Yahwè suggests. Hence, though the Israelite was bound to love Yahwè, and to love his fellow-countrymen, the two precepts are never united. In Christ, on the other hand, God has revealed Himself as love, and so the love and service of God are inseparable from the love and service of man.

¹ 'And thou shalt bind them,' etc. Jewish tradition interprets the words literally, and Dillm., who refers to xxvii. 3, 8 (contrast Exod. xiii. 9, 16), is of the same mind. This interpretation may be accepted, though the author, who gives no detailed account of the signs on the hands, etc., meant, perhaps, to recommend, rather than to enjoin, the usages in question. Whichever it be, precept or permission, the passage is characteristic. The author knew that the superstitious use of amulets was dear to the Israelite. Instead of trying to root it out, he skilfully provides the devout Israelite with amulets, which were at the same time badges of the Monotheistic creed. See Holzinger, *Hexat.*, p. 324.

serve and by his name shalt thou swear. 14. You shall not go after other gods from among the gods of the nations which are round about you, 15. for Yahwè thy God in the midst of thee is a jealous God; lest the anger of Yahwè thy God be kindled against thee and he destroy thee from the face of the ground.

16. You shall not put Yahwè thy God to the proof, as you put him to the proof at Massah.¹ 17. You shall diligently keep the commandments of Yahwè your God and his testimonies and his statutes which he commanded thee. 18. And thou shalt do that which is right and good in the eyes of Yahwè, that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest go in and possess the good land, concerning which Yahwè swore to thy fathers, 19. that he would thrust out all thy enemies from before thee, as Yahwè has spoken.

20. When² thy son shall ask thee in time to come, saying: What are the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments which Yahwè our God commanded you? 21. then thou shalt say to thy son, We were Pharaoh's slaves in Egypt and Yahwè brought us out from Egypt with a mighty hand; 22. and Yahwè showed signs and marvels, great and sore, upon Egypt, upon Pharaoh, and upon all his house before our eyes: 23. but us he brought out thence, to bring us in,³ to give us the land which he swore to our fathers. 24. And Yahwè commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear Yahwè our God, for our good always, that he might preserve us in life, as at this day. 25. And it shall be righteousness for us, if we observe to do all this commandment, before Yahwè our God, as he commanded us.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST CANAANITE IDOLATRY. ISRAEL'S REWARD.

VII. When Yahwè thy God shall bring thee into the land whither thou goest to possess it, and shall cast out many nations before thee, the Hittite, the Girgashite, the Amorite, the

¹ 'Massah.' The reference is to the 'Oldest Book,' here probably the Jahvist, Exod. xvii. 7. See vol. i. p. 132, note 2.

² 'When.' The LXX. and Sam. have, 'And it shall be when.'

³ 'To bring us in.' Wanting in LXX.

Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite, seven nations, greater and mightier than thou; 2. and when Yahwè thy God shall deliver them up before thee, so that thou shalt smite them, then thou shalt surely put them under a ban;¹ thou shalt make no covenant with them nor show mercy to them; 3. neither shalt thou make marriage with them; thy

¹ 'Under a ban.' On the cherem or ban, see vol. i. p. 210, note. The root idea is that of separation, devotion to a sacred purpose. Comp. Arab. *harama*, to 'refuse' or 'forbid,' whence 'haram,' the sacred territory (at Mecca), 'harām,' 'that which is forbidden,' or sacrosanct, and the word which we have adopted in English, viz. harem, the secluded apartments of the women. To the early Hebrews Yahwè was chiefly 'a man of war.' The wars of Israel were the wars of Yahwè, and the primary object of the 'ban' was to let Yahwè satisfy his rage against his foes. It was dangerous to come between him and them, and the 'ban' was not merely a gift or sacrifice to Yahwè, nor merely an acknowledgment that victory came from him, but was also intended to execute Yahwè's 'fierce wrath' (1 Sam. xxviii. 18) by the annihilation of his enemies. We have the best possible illustration of the original idea in the inscription on the Moabite stone (*Records of the Past*, New Series, vol. ii. p. 201), 'I made war on the town and seized it, and I slew all the people of the town for the pleasure of Chemosh [the Moabite god] and Moab.' Comp. also the Jahvist, Num. xxi. 1-3. In Deuteronomy, however, as in the later addition to the 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xxiii. 31 seq.; comp. Exod. xxxiv. 12, 15 seq.), the cherem assumes a far higher aspect, and one which, imperfect as the conception is, nevertheless is distinctly moral. The Canaanites are to be extirpated in order that the Israelites may be protected from temptation to idolatry. How did the Deuteronomist come to insist on an obligation which in his time was perfectly impracticable, since the Canaanites had ceased since Solomon's reign to have any independent political existence? Dillmann answers that the Deuteronomist adopted from the 'Book of the Covenant' a law of primitive antiquity. Now the passage in the 'Book of the Covenant' is interpolated, and though the 'ban' or cherem is ancient, the belief that it was applied on moral grounds to Canaanites is neither true nor ancient. The fact seems to be this. The Deuteronomist, with his aversion to the worship of other gods, inevitably conceived of Israel's early struggle with the Canaanites as one between the worshippers of the true God and the adherents of a sensual idolatry, and he had the strongest motives for repeating the command to extirpate the Canaanites. He spoke in the name of Moses, and had therefore to speak as if the Canaanites were before him. He knew very well that if an Israelite of Josiah's reign believed in Yahwè's hatred of idolatry, and recognised as a fact that the life of his nation had begun with a fight against the worshippers of other gods as such, he would be likely to hate the idolatry of his own day, and avoid its seductive influences. In particular, he would avoid intermarriage with the heathen, a danger to which the author refers in the next verse.

daughter thou shalt not give to his son, and his daughter thou shalt not take for thy son. 4. For he will turn away thy son from following me that they may serve other gods; so will the anger of Yahwè be kindled against you and he will destroy thee speedily. 5. But thus shall you do to them; their altars you shall break down, and their pillars¹ you shall dash in pieces, and their asherim you shall cut down and their graven images you shall burn with fire. 6. For a holy people² art thou to Yahwè thy God: Yahwè thy God has chosen thee to be a people that is a peculiar treasure³ for himself out of all the peoples which are on the face of the ground. 7. Not because you were more in number than any of the peoples, did Yahwè cling to you and choose you, for you were the fewest of all the peoples,⁴ 8. but because Yahwè loved you, and because he kept the oath which he swore to your fathers, did Yahwè bring you out with a mighty hand and redeemed⁵

¹ 'Their pillars,' Comp. Exod. xxiii. 24. But that verse is, probably, a later addition to the 'Book of the Covenant.' We shall have to speak below (Deut. xvi. 22) of the prohibition of sacred 'pillars' generally; here it is the pillars of 'other gods' which are to be destroyed.

² 'A holy people.' Not holy in the sense that the individual Hebrews were morally good, but consecrated, withdrawn from the common life of the world and set apart for the special service of Yahwè. Comp. Baudissin, *Stud. z. semit. Rel. Gesch.* ii. 5 seq.; Robertson Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, p. 90, 132 seq. The phrase here 'holy people' is characteristic of Deut. (xiv. 2, 21, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9). In the 'Oldest Book' we find 'holy nation.' Exod. xix. 6.

³ 'A peculiar treasure,' etc. Repeated from the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xix. 5. The expression recurs Deut. xiv. 2, xxvi. 18.

⁴ 'A small number out of (*i.e.* from the mass of) all the peoples.' Contrast i. 10, iv. 6, x. 22, xxvi. 5. As a matter of fact, the number of Israelites when they crossed the Jordan was, no doubt, small, and we have traces of this, the true view, in the 'Oldest Book.' See vol. i., notes on p. 126, and the notes on the fragments from the Jahvist history of the Conquest, p. 225 seq. The book of Deuteronomy, even when it agrees with the historical fact on this matter, preserves no genuine historical tradition. The rhetoric of the writer impels him to insist (1.) that the Israelites were few, and so to exhibit their absolute dependence on Yahwè; (2.) that they were many, and so to exhibit God's loving care of them in multiplying their numbers.

⁵ 'Redeem.' The word recurs ix. 26, xiii. 6, xv. 15, xxi. 8, xxiv. 18. It is found nowhere else in the Pentateuch to describe the deliverance from

thee from the house of slaves, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. 9. Know therefore that Yahwè thy God, he is the [only] God, the faithful God who keeps his covenant and his loving-kindness with them that keep his commandments for a thousand generations;¹ 10. but requites them that hate him in their proper person so as to destroy them: he will not put off [the punishment] of him that hates him: in his proper person he will requite him. 11. Thou shalt therefore keep the commandment and the statutes and the judgments, which I am commanding thee this day, to do them.

12. And it shall come to pass in reward for your hearing these judgments and keeping them and doing them, that Yahwè thy God shall keep for thee the covenant and the loving-kindness which he swore to thy fathers. 13. And he will love thee and bless thee and multiply thee; and he will bless the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, thy corn and thy must and thy fresh oil, the increase of thy kine

Egypt. The 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xv. 13, uses another word, לְרָאוֹת, 'to reclaim.'

¹ 'For a thousand generations.' The decalogue, Exod. xx. 6, Deut. v. 10, has 'for thousands,' probably a more obscure expression of the same idea. But in a most important point the Deuteronomist passes beyond the morality of the decalogue. In early times it was thought quite natural that the son should suffer for the father's guilt. The full notion of individual responsibility had not arisen; the thought of personality slumbered in the unity which identified a man with his family, his tribe, and his nation. When the Deuteronomist wrote the State was tottering to its fall, and individual life became far more important. Jeremiah xxxi. 29 looks forward to a time when a man is to die for his own iniquity, not for that of his fathers. Here the Deuteronomist holds to the ancient doctrine that God's mercy is continued from generation to generation, but in ver. 10 he denies that God's vengeance descends in the same way, and in xxiv. 16 (comp. 2 Kings xiv. 6) he expressly says that each soul is to bear its own guilt, the father is not to die for the guilty child, or the child for the guilty father. The development of this individual morality is complete in Ezekiel. He rejects the belief, not only in transmitted guilt, but also in transmitted righteousness. In his eyes merit and guilt were matters of the personal and free will. A man was not even bound by his own past, and might turn from evil to good, or from good to evil, at any moment prior to the final judgment, a judgment executed by God during man's lifetime. See especially Ezek. xviii., and on the whole subject Smend's *A. T. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 310 seq.

and the young of thy flock,¹ on the ground which he swore to thy fathers to give thee. 14. Blessed shalt thou be above all peoples: there shall not be male or female barren among you or among your cattle. 15. And Yahwè will turn away from thee all sickness, and he will put none of the evil diseases² of Egypt which thou knowest upon thee, but will lay them on all those that hate thee. 16. And thou shalt devour all the people which Yahwè thy God is giving thee; thine eye shall not pity them,³ neither shalt thou serve their gods, for that would be a snare to thee.

17. If thou shalt say in thy heart, These nations are more than I; how can I dispossess them? 18. Thou shalt not be afraid of them: thou shalt well remember what Yahwè thy God did to Pharaoh and all Egypt: 19. the great trials⁴ which thine eyes saw, and the signs and the wonders, and the mighty hand and the stretched-out arm, whereby Yahwè thy God brought thee out; so shall Yahwè thy God do to all the peoples of whom thou art afraid. 20. Moreover, Yahwè thy God will send the hornet⁵ among them, till those perish that are left and hide themselves from thee. 21. Thou shalt not

¹ 'The young of thy flock,' lit. 'the Astartes of thy flock,' *i.e.* the young lambs, etc., are regarded as the gifts of Astarte, the Assyrian Venus. The expression is peculiar to Deuteronomy (here and xxviii. 4, 18, 51). It had arisen in Canaan, in which, as in the surrounding countries, Astarte was worshipped. Thus in Manasseh there was a place Ashteroth or Ashteroth-Karnaim (Gen. xiv. 5, etc.), and there was an Astarte of the Sidonians (1 Kings xi. 5), of the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi. 10), and of the Moabites (Astarte of Chemosh, Inscript. of Mesha, line 17). The author who used the expression before us would not advert to the original meaning, any more than we think of the god Thor when we speak of Thursday.

² 'Diseases.' The word used (מַדְוָה) only occurs here and Deut. xxviii. 60.

³ 'Thine eye shall not pity them.' The phrase recurs, Deut. xiii. 9, xix. 13, 21, xxv. 12.

⁴ 'Trials.' See note on iv. 34.

⁵ 'The hornet.' Borrowed from the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 28. Here at least the word 'hornet' is to be taken literally. It is classed by the use of 'moreover' with other agencies of destruction, which are described in literal language. Insects were specially fitted to penetrate recesses and drive out the Canaanites from their hiding-places.

be affrighted at them, for Yahwè thy God is in the midst of thee, a God great and terrible. 22. And Yahwè thy God will cast out these nations before thee little by little: thou mayest not consume them quickly, lest the beast of the field increase upon thee.¹ 23. Yahwè thy God shall deliver them up before thee and shall throw them into great confusion,² till they are destroyed. 24. And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt make their name to perish from under the heavens: no man shall be able to stand against thee, until thou have destroyed them. 25. The graven images of their gods you shall burn with fire: thou shalt not covet the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it to thee, lest thou be snared therewith, for it is an abomination to Yahwè thy God:³ 26. and thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house, so as to fall under a ban like it: thou shalt utterly detest and abominate it, for it is under a ban.

THE LESSONS OF THE WILDERNESS. WARNING AGAINST
INGRATITUDE IN CANAAN.

VIII. 1. All the commandment⁴ which I command thee this day, you shall observe to do, that you may live and

¹ 'Thou mayest not consume them quickly, lest the beast of the field increase upon thee.' The author here borrows his language and thought from the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 29 *seq.* He forgets for the moment his own view, which puts the matter in a much more marvellous and far less historical light. He states it afterwards in ix. 3, where, in direct contradiction to the passage before us, Yahwè promises to go before his people like 'devouring fire,' so that they are to destroy their enemies 'quickly.' Of course, on the traditional view that the Hebrews marched out of Egypt with 600,000 fighting men, no danger could have arisen from the immediate destruction of the Canaanites. The Hebrews by themselves would have provided ample population for the territory of Palestine.

² 'Throw them into great confusion.' A reminiscence of Exod. xxiii. 27 ('Book of the Covenant').

³ 'An abomination to [of] Yahwè.' The phrase recurs xii. 31, xvii. 1, xviii. 12, xxii. 5, xxiii. 19, xxv. 16, xxvii. 15, and is found nowhere else in the Pentateuch.

⁴ 'The commandment,' *i.e.* the primary commandment to love and fear Yahwè, and to serve him alone. See vi. 4 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*

multiply and go in to possess the land, which Yahwè promised by oath to your fathers.

2. Thou shalt remember all the way which Yahwè thy God has led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, to put thee to the proof, that he might know what was in thy heart, whether thou wouldst keep his commandments, or no. 3. And he humbled thee and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with the manna,¹ which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know, that he might make thee know that man lives not by bread alone, but that by every thing which proceeds out of the mouth of Yahwè can man live.² 4. Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee,³ neither did thy foot swell, these forty years. 5. And thou shalt consider in thy heart, that as a man chastens his son, so Yahwè thy God chastens thee. 6. And thou shalt keep the commandments of Yahwè thy God to walk in his ways and to fear him. 7. For Yahwè thy God is bringing thee to a good land with water-torrents and fountains and pools, springing forth in valley and mountain; 8. a land of wheat and barley, and wines and fig-trees and pomegranates, a land of cultivated olives and honey; 9. a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it: a land whose stones are iron, and from whose hills thou mayest dig copper. 10. And thou shalt eat and be full and bless Yahwè thy God, for the

¹ 'The manna.' The Deuteronomist holds to the old view that the manna was poor food, with little taste. Comp. the Jahvist, Num. xi. 6, vol. i. p. 161.

² 'By everything which proceeds out of the mouth of Yahwè can man live,' *i.e.* God by His will and creative word, and by His ordinance, can provide other food when bread fails.

³ 'Thy raiment waxed not old.' A miracle is, of course, intended. But Dillm. is not justified in speaking of this view as 'furthest removed from actual fact.' On the contrary, as Montet remarks, the Deuteronomist at least sees the impossibility of getting new garments in the desert, and so far he is much more reasonable than his successor, the 'Priestly Writer,' who, with a light heart, describes the making of gorgeous priestly vestments, and the elaborate construction of the Tabernacle in the desert.

good land which he has given thee. 11. Beware, lest thou forget Yahwè thy God, so as not to keep his commandments and his judgments and his statutes, which I command thee this day: 12. lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and hast built goodly houses and hast dwelt therein; 13. and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied; 14. then thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget Yahwè thy God, who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt and the house of bondage: 15. who led thee through the great and terrible wilderness, with its fiery serpents and scorpions¹ and thirsty ground wherein was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the flinty rock;² 16. who fed thee in the wilderness with manna which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and put thee to the proof, to do thee good in thine after-time: 17. and thou say in thy heart, My power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth. 18. But thou shalt remember Yahwè thy God, for it is he that gives thee power to get wealth, to establish his promise which he swore to thy fathers as [he does] at this day. 19. And it shall be, if thou shalt nevertheless forget Yahwè thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them and worship them, I testify against you this day that you shall surely perish; 20. like the nations which Yahwè causes to perish before you, so shall you perish, because you would not listen to the voice of Yahwè your God.

WARNING AGAINST SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS.

IX. 1. Hear, O Israel: thou art passing over Jordan this day to enter and possess nations greater and mightier than

¹ 'Fiery serpents and scorpions.' Comp. for the former Num. xxi. 6, in the 'Oldest Book' (here the Elohist). Nothing is said in the narrative portions of the Hexateuch about scorpions, though the 'Priestly Writer,' Josh. xv. 3, mentions a place called 'the ascent of Akabbim,' *i.e.* of scorpions.

² 'Water out of the flinty rock.' See 'Oldest Book,' Num. xx. 11.

thou, cities great and fortified as high as the heavens, 2. a people great and tall, the sons of the Anakim, whom thou knowest and of whom thou hast heard say, Who can stand before the sons of the Anakim? 3. Know therefore this day that it is Yahwè thy God who is passing over before thee, as consuming fire: he shall destroy them and he shall bring them down before thee, and thou shalt dispossess them and make them perish quickly, as Yahwè has promised thee. 4. Thou shalt not speak in thy heart, when Yahwè thy God thrusts them out from before thee, saying: For my righteousness Yahwè has brought me in to possess this land, whereas for the wickedness¹ of these nations Yahwè dispossesses them before thee. 5. Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thy heart dost thou go in to possess their land; but for the wickedness of these nations Yahwè thy God drives them out before thee, and that he may establish the word which Yahwè swore to thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

ISRAEL'S REBELLIOUS SPIRIT PROVED FROM HISTORY.

6. Know therefore that not for thy righteousness does Yahwè thy God give thee this good land to possess it, for thou art a stiffnecked people. 7. Remember, do not forget, how thou didst provoke Yahwè thy God in the wilderness; from the day that thou wentest forth out of the land of Egypt, till you came to this place, you have continued to be rebellious in your dealing with Yahwè. 8. In Horeb you provoked Yahwè, and Yahwè was angry with you, so that he meant to destroy you. 9. When I was gone up to the mountain to receive the tables of stone, the tables of the covenant which Yahwè made with you, then I abode in the mountain forty days and forty nights; I did neither eat bread nor drink water. 10. And Yahwè gave me the two tables of stone written with the finger

¹ 'Whereas for the wickedness,' etc. This clause is omitted in the Vatican text of the LXX. It may be, as Valetton and Dillm. think, an interpolation from ver. 5.

of God, containing all the words, which Yahwè spoke with you in the mountain from the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly. 11. And it came to pass at the end of forty days and forty nights, that Yahwè gave me the two tables of stone, the tables of the covenant. 12. And Yahwè said to me, Arise, go down quickly from this place, for thy people which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt, has acted corruptly; they have turned aside quickly from the way which I have commanded them, they have made themselves a molten image. 13. Moreover, Yahwè spoke to me, saying, I have seen this people and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people:¹ 14. let me alone that I may destroy them and blot out their name from under the heavens; and I will make of thee a nation mightier and larger than they. 15. So I turned and came down from the mountain; and the mountain burned with fire and the two tables of the covenant were in my two hands. 16. And I looked and, behold, you had sinned against Yahwè your God, you had made yourselves a molten calf; you had turned aside quickly from the way which Yahwè had commanded you. 17. Then I took hold of the two tables and cast them out of my two hands and broke them before your eyes. 18. And I fell down before Yahwè, as at the first, forty days and forty nights; I ate no bread and drank no water, because of all your sin which you had committed, by doing that which was evil in the eyes of Yahwè, to vex him. 19. For I was afraid of the anger and rage wherewith Yahwè was wroth against you to destroy you. But Yahwè listened to me this time also. 20. And with Aaron was Yahwè very angry and meant to destroy him, but I prayed for Aaron also at this time.² 21. And as for your sin which you had made,

¹ 'A stiffnecked people.' This expression is peculiar to the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9, and to Deut. here and ver. 13. Comp. Deut. xxxi. 27.

² 'I prayed for Aaron also at this time.' This detail is not mentioned in the 'Oldest Book.' On the whole, the narrative of the 'Oldest Book' is followed here. That narrative, however, is itself composite, as has been

the calf, I took and burned it with fire and pounded it, grinding it thoroughly, till it was as fine as dust; and I cast its dust into the torrent which goes down from the mountain.

22. And at Taberah and at Massah and at Kibroth-hattaavah¹ you made Yahwè angry. 23. And when Yahwè sent you from Kadesh-barnea,² saying, Go up and possess the land which I have given you; then you rebelled against the commandment of Yahwè your God and you did not trust him or believe his voice. 24. You have continued to be rebellious in your dealing with Yahwè your God from the day that I knew you.³

25. Now when I lay the forty days and forty nights, that I cast myself down, before Yahwè, because Yahwè meant to destroy you, 26. I prayed to Yahwè and said, O Lord Yahwè, destroy not thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast redeemed with thy great power, which thou hast brought forth

shown in vol. i. p. 151. According to one form of the story, Moses, still on the Mount, hears of the people's idolatry from Yahwè, and intercedes for them successfully. According to another and earlier form, Moses discovers the idolatry of the people for himself. The author of this section of Deuteronomy must have had the composite narrative before him. He represents Moses as learning the people's sin from Yahwè on the mountain, but as interceding for them and obtaining their pardon after he had come down. The words of the prayer, however, are partly taken from that which, according to the later of the two narratives united in the 'Oldest Book,' was made on the mountain. We are also told here in Deuteronomy that Moses, in interceding for the people, fasted forty days and nights. As the words stand they seem to indicate a fast not mentioned elsewhere, viz. one at the foot of the Mount. In that case, we should have another discrepancy between Deuteronomy and the 'Oldest Book.' This is the view taken by Koster, *Historie-beschouwing van den Deuteronomist*, p. 114. The commoner view among modern scholars is that of Knobel, Dillmann, Montet, etc., viz. that the forty days are identical with those which Moses spent on the Mount to receive the decalogue a second time (Exod. xxxiv. 4-28).

¹ 'At Taberah, at Massah, and at Kibroth-hattaavah.' Comp. vol. i. p. 160 *seq.*, and p. 132, and observe that here Massah is placed between, not, as in the 'Oldest Book,' before the other two places.

² 'Kadesh-barnea.' Comp. vol. i. p. 164 *seq.*, particularly Num. xiii. 26, and Deut. i. 22 *seq.*

³ 'From the day that I knew you.' The Sam. reads, 'From the day that he (i.e. Yahwè) knew you': the LXX. have 'was known to you.'

out of Egypt with a mighty hand. 27. Think of thy servants, of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob: look not to the stubbornness of this people, or to their wickedness or to their sin: 28. lest the land whence thou hast brought us out say, Because Yahwè was not able to bring them to the land, which he promised to them, and because he hated them, he has brought them out to slay them in the wilderness. 29. Yet they are thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest out by thy great strength and by thy stretched-out arm.

X. 1. At that time¹ Yahwè said to me, Hew thee two

¹ 'At that time,' etc., x. 1-9. This section has been the subject of much critical discussion. Even commentators who wrote before the rise of criticism were perplexed by the want of connection (*see* Colenso, vi. p. 97 *seq.*). At the end of ch. ix. Moses has ascended the Mount a second time, and intercedes for the sin of the people. In x. 1-5 we are told that Yahwè had told Moses to prepare two stone tables and a wooden ark. Yahwè writes the decalogue on the tables, Moses descends and places the tables in the ark. In 6-7 we are transported forward to a far later period, viz. the death of Aaron, who is followed in the priesthood by Eleazar. In 8-9 we move back to the time when the tribe of Levi was set apart for the priesthood. In 10 we go back further still to the time indicated at the end of ch. ix. Moses is still on the Mount. Hence Colenso (*loc. cit.*) and Dillm. reject 6-7 as an interpolation. Meyer (*Z. A. W. I.*, p. 118 *seq.*) includes 8-9 in the interpolated parenthesis, taking the words in 8, 'at this time,' as a reference to the fourth station mentioned, viz. Jotbathah. Cornill (*Einleit.* p. 39), on the ground that x. 10 is the direct continuation of ix. 29, rejects the whole section x. 1-9. On the other hand, Kuen., § 7 n. 6, claims the whole passage for the original author of Deuteronomy, admitting, however, that he has borrowed 6-7 from another source, viz. Num. xxi. 12 *seq.* (the Elohist). He argues from the Deuteronomical character of the thought and style of the passage generally, and pleads that 6 and 7, where this character is wanting, form the introduction to 8 and 9.

Two things seem certain. First, vv. 6 and 7 cannot be due in any sense to the author of Deuteronomy. He did not write them. For why should he have passed from the second person to the third, from the form of an address to that of a narration? The word כהן ('ministered in the priest's office') never occurs elsewhere in Deuteronomy. Nor can he have taken them from another source, for he could not have placed this abrupt notice of Aaron's death before the institution of that Levitical priesthood of which he makes so much. Next, we must assign the rest of the passage to a Deuteronomist, the language being, as Kuenen rightly says, decisive on the point. It may come from the hand of the original author of Deuteronomy. The narrative is confused even after the excision of 6 and 7. This,

tables of stone like the first, and come up to me on the mountain and make thee an ark of wood.¹ 2. And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou didst break, and thou shalt put them in the ark. 3. So I made an ark of acacia wood and I hewed two tables

however, does not settle the point. In ix. 22-24 we have another awkward digression.

It also seems nearly certain that 6 and 7 are a fragment of the Elohist narrative found in Num. xxi. 12. There is the closest similarity of style. Notice the form 'From thence they journeyed' (contrast the form used in the list of stations Num. xxxiii.), and the mixture of legendary lore with the dry list of names. It is impossible to say how this fragment of the Elohist got into its present place. Cornill (p. 85) supposes that it was inserted here by the final editor of the Hexateuch. But why did he contradict the order of the stations given according to Cornill by his own hand in Num. xxxiii., and the 'Priestly' narrative, which he makes the basis of the Hexateuch in Num. xx. 23-29? The most ingenious and plausible explanation is that of Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*). He places Deut. x. 6-7 between the three last names mentioned in Deut. i. 1 and Num. xxi. 11^b *seq.* In the verses thus connected he sees 'a fragment of the Elohist' itinerary from Horeb to the promulgation of the law in Exod. xxi. *seq.*, which law was given according to the Elohist at the end of the wanderings, but was shoved back to its present place in the Hexateuch by the intrusion of Deuteronomy.

¹ 'An ark of wood.' The ark holds an important place in the 'Oldest Book.' See Num. x. 33 and xiv. 44. It is true that the book as we have it contains no reference to the making of the ark, but this is explained by the fact that the editor of the Hexateuch has given at length the 'Priestly' account of the matter, and had therefore no room for the earlier story. It is from the earlier account that the author of Deuteronomy borrows. The ark which the 'Priestly Writer' describes as overlaid like the golden altar with pure gold, would never have been called 'an ark of wood.' Probably, however, the author of Deuteronomy did introduce a notable change. Originally the ark had been the actual dwelling-place of Yahwè. See vol. i. of this work, p. 160 n. 1. In Deuteronomy it is the decalogue which is placed there. Hence, it is now called, not the 'ark of Yahwè,' but 'the ark of the covenant of Yahwè.' True, the expression 'ark of the covenant of Yahwè' occurs in Num. x. 33—xiv. 44. But the words have no meaning there, and are probably due to later scribes. We have in 1 Sam. iv. 3-5 an example of their tendency to introduce the Deuteronomical for the older form. Here in the Massoretic text we have 'ark of the covenant of Yahwè' four times, but the word 'covenant' is absent in the Vatican text of the LXX., though it was added later in the Alexandrian ms. See Kuenen, *Theol. Theolog. Tijdschr.*, xv. p. 204, and the instructive note in his *Godsdienst van Israel*, ch. iv. n. 3.

of stone like the first, and went up to the mountain with the two tables of stone in my hand. 4. And he wrote on the tables according to the first writing the ten words which Yahwè spoke to you in the mount from the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly, and Yahwè gave them to me. 5. And I turned and came down from the mount and put the tables in the ark which I had made, and there they remained, as Yahwè had commanded me.

E 6. And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died and there he was buried, and Eleazar his son acted as priest instead of him. 7. Thence they journeyed to Gudgodah and from Gudgodah to Jotbathah, a land where there are streams of water. E

8. At that time Yahwè separated the tribe of Levi¹ to bear the ark of the covenant of Yahwè, to stand before Yahwè to minister to him and to bless in his name, [as it is] to this day. 9. Therefore Levi got no portion or inheritance with his brethren: Yahwè is his inheritance, as Yahwè thy God promised him.

10. But I stayed in the mount, as at the first time, forty days and forty nights, and Yahwè listened to me this time also: Yahwè consented not to destroy thee. 11. And Yahwè said to me, Arise, go and set forth at the head of the people, that they may go and possess the land, which I swore to your fathers to give them.

A FINAL EXHORTATION TO FEAR, LOVE, AND OBEY YAHWÈ.

12. And now, Israel, what does Yahwè require of thee, but

¹ 'Separated the tribe of Levi,' etc. Notice how clearly the author assigns all priestly functions to Levites as such. In the later 'Priestly' code mere Levites, belonging to the family or clan of Kohath, bore the ark, Num. iii. 31—iv. 15. Such Levites as were sons of Aaron, and therefore priests, 'stood before Yahwè,' *i.e.* offered sacrifice in the sanctuary, Num. iii. 10, etc., and blessed in his name, Num. vi. 23, Lev. ix. 22. The words 'at that time' refer to the stay at Horeb, since 6-7 form no part of the original narrative here.

to fear Yahwè thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Yahwè thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, 13. to keep the commandments of Yahwè and his statutes¹ which I am commanding thee this day for thy good? 14. Behold, to Yahwè thy God belong the heavens to their utmost heights, the earth and all that is in it. 15. Yet to thy fathers alone did Yahwè thy God cling to love them, and he chose their seed after them, even you out of all peoples, as [may be seen] at this day. 16. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart,² and be no more stiffnecked. 17. For Yahwè your God is the God of gods³ and the Lord of lords, the God great, strong and fearful, who shows no partiality and does not take a bribe, 18. executing the judgment of the fatherless and the widow and loving the settler so as to give him bread and clothing. 19. Love therefore the

¹ 'To keep the commandments of Yahwè and his statutes.' Comp. Mic. vi. 8, a prophecy which Ewald on plausible grounds assigns to the reign of Manasseh, *i.e.* about half a century before the publication of Deuteronomy, 'He has declared to thee, O man, what is good, and what Yahwè thy God requireth of thee: rather [*i.e.* rather than sacrifice] to exercise justice and kindness, and to walk humbly before thy God.' Here, says Wellhausen (*Minor Prophets*, p. 144), we should have a classical expression of the prophetic teaching on the knowledge of God, if we only knew what is intended by 'walking humbly.' The passage in Deuteronomy marks the transition from the prophetic to the legal spirit. The prophet requires a right disposition of the heart: so does the author of Deuteronomy, but he also requires obedience to the enactments of a code, some of which enactments are arbitrary. In the Priestly Code the enactments of positive law throw the moral and religious dispositions completely into the shade.

² 'The foreskin of your heart.' The idea of spiritual circumcision is found in Jer. iv. 4, ix. 25 *seq.*; also in Ezek. xlv. 9. There is, however, no proof of Wellhausen's assertion that the author of Deuteronomy borrowed it from Jeremiah. We cannot be sure that Jeremiah had not been anticipated by previous prophets.

³ 'God of gods.' The phrase may have arisen when the Israelites did not doubt the existence of other gods besides Yahwè, comp. Exod. xv. 11, vol. i. p. 131 of this work. The author of Deut. who asserts so explicitly the unity of God could only retain the expression in a rhetorical and improper sense. Similarly the author of Ps. cxxxv. does not scruple to speak of Yahwè as 'lord over all gods' (ver. 5), though he believed the gods of the heathen to be in reality lifeless idols (ver. 15).

settler, since you were settlers in the land of Egypt. 20. Yahwè thy God shalt thou fear, him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and by his name shalt thou swear. 21. He is thy praise¹ and he is thy God who has done for thee these great and terrible things which thine eyes have seen. 22. As seventy persons² did thy fathers go down to Egypt, and now Yahwè thy God has made thee as the stars of the heavens for multitude.

XI. 1. Therefore thou shalt love Yahwè thy God, and shalt keep his charge³ and his statutes and his judgments and his commandments always. 2. Therefore acknowledge this day,—for [I speak] not with your sons, who have not known and have not seen,—the discipline of Yahwè your God, his greatness, his mighty hand and his stretched-out arm, 3. and his signs and his works which he did in the midst of Egypt to Pharaoh the king of Egypt and to all his land, 4. and what he did to the army of Egypt, their horses and chariots, how he made the waters of the Red Sea to overflow them, as they pursued after you and so

¹ 'Thy praise,' *i.e.* the object of it, as of thy fear and love. This is the rendering suited to the context, and not that of the LXX., viz. 'thy boast,' *i.e.* the occasion of praise to thee. So Jer. xvii. 14 speaks of Yahwè as 'his praise.'

² 'Seventy persons.' This is one of three cases in which the book of Deuteronomy mentions facts found nowhere else in the Hexateuch, except in the 'Priestly' document. The other two facts are the number of the spies, viz. twelve, Deut. i. 23, and the making of the ark of acacia wood, Deut. x. 1-3. Dillm. admits (iii. p. 610) that the dependence of Deuteronomy on the 'Priestly Writer' 'cannot be proved.' In reality, the instances given do not establish the least probability of any such dependence. A round number like seventy, or like the forty years in the wilderness, or the number of Jacob's sons may belong to early legend, and there is no reason to suppose that the 'Priestly Writer' invented it. On the contrary, the pains he takes to make up the number when he counts heads in Gen. xlvi. 8-27, rather indicates that he found the number already given in tradition, and probably also in the 'Oldest Book,' and then set himself the task of enumerating the individuals who composed it. Some MSS. of the LXX., including the Alexandrian MS., read 75 for 70. This is the reading of the LXX. manuscripts generally in Gen. xlvi. 27.

³ 'Keep his charge.' Only here in Deut. Found in the 'Priestly Writer.'

destroyed them to this day, 5. and what he did to you in the wilderness, till you came to this place, 6. and what he did to Dathan and Abiram,¹ sons of Eliab, son of Reuben, how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them in the midst of all Israel: 7. since it is your eyes that saw all Yahwè's great work which he did.

8. Therefore keep all the commandment, which I am commanding thee this day, that you may be strong and go in and possess the land, whither you are passing over to possess it; 9. and that you may prolong your days on the land which Yahwè your God swore to your fathers to give them and their seed, a land flowing with milk and honey. 10. For the land, whither thou goest to possess it, is not like the land of Egypt, whence you have gone forth, which, when thou didst sow it with thy seed, thou didst water, with [a wheel driven by] thy foot, as a garden of herbs. 11. But the land whither you are passing over to possess it, is a land of mountains and valleys which, as the rain falls, drinks water; 12. a land which Yahwè thy God cares for; continually are the eyes of Yahwè thy God upon it, from the year's beginning to its end.

13. And it shall be, if you shall faithfully obey my commandments which I am commanding you this day, to love Yahwè your God and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul, 14. that I will give the rain of your land in its season, the former and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn and thy must and thy fresh oil. 15. And I will give grass in thy field for thy cattle and thou shalt eat and be satisfied. 16. Take heed to yourselves, lest your heart be fooled, and you turn aside and serve other gods, and fall down before them; 17. so that the anger of Yahwè be kindled against you and he close the heavens, so that there be no rain and that the ground yield not

¹ 'Dathan and Abiram.' Deuteronomy, as usual, follows the 'Oldest Book.' See vol. i. of this work, p. 168, and the note there.

its produce and you **perish** quickly from the good land which Yahwè is giving you.

18. Therefore lay these my words on your heart and on your soul, and bind them¹ as a sign on your hands and let them be for bands between your eyes. 19. Teach them to your children, talking of them, when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou risest up. 20. Write them on the door-posts of thy house and upon thy gates, 21. that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, upon the ground which Yahwè swore to your fathers to give them, while the heavens continue over the earth. 22. For if you diligently keep all this commandment which I am commanding you to do it, to love Yahwè your God, to walk in all his ways and to cleave to him, 23. then Yahwè will dispossess all these nations from before thee and you shall possess nations greater and mightier than yourselves. 24. Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread, shall be yours : from the wilderness and Lebanon,² from the river, the river Euphrates, to the Western Sea shall your territory extend. 25. No man shall stand against you : the terror of you and the dread of you shall Yahwè your God lay upon the whole land whereon you shall tread, as he spoke to you.

26. See, I am setting before you this day blessing and curse, 27. the blessing if you obey the commandments of Yahwè your God which I am commanding you this day, 28. and the curse if you do not obey the commandments of Yahwè your God and turn aside from the way which I am commanding you this day, to go after other gods, whom you have not known. 29.³ **And it**

¹ 'Bind them,' etc. See note on vi. 8.

² 'From the wilderness and Lebanon.' Dillm. is half inclined to emend the text 'From the wilderness to Lebanon.' In any case this is the meaning intended.

³ Vv. 29, 30, are clearly out of place here. Dillm. feeling this supposes that they originally followed xxvii. 3. So that by adding 26-30 here (for to Dillm. 26-28 seem naturally connected with 29-30) to xxvii. 1-3 we have an account of the blessing and curse at Gerizim and Ebal from the original

shall be, when Yahwè thy God brings thee to the land whither thou art going to possess it, that thou shalt put the blessing on Mount Gerizim and the curse on Mount Ebal. 30. Are they not on the other side of Jordan westward of the road [which passes through the country] on the west [of Jordan] in the land of the Canaanite that dwells in the Arabah over against Gilgal at the side of the soothsayer's oaks? 31. For you are crossing the Jordan to go to possess the land which Yahwè your God is giving you, that you may possess it and dwell in it. 32. So you shall observe to do all the statutes and the judgments which I am setting before you this day.

THE LAWS. XII.—XXVI.

XII. 1. These are the statutes and the judgments which you shall observe to do in the land which Yahwè the God of thy fathers has given thee to possess it, all the days that you live on the ground.

ONE PLACE OF SACRIFICE TO YAHWÈ.

2. You shall utterly destroy¹ all the places wherein the nations

author of Deuteronomy. The fatal objection to any such theory is that the description of the blessing and curse given in these verses is far too obscure to be intelligible by itself. Vv. 26-28 give a good sense, and are quite suitable to the context. Moses concludes his hortatory address by placing before the people the blessing, viz. of obedience, the curse, viz. of disobedience. But a later scribe who had read ch. xxvii. naturally thought of the audible blessing and curse on mounts Gerizim and Ebal. Accordingly he interpolated vv. 29-30 in his copy. I doubt if there is any reason to follow Kautzsch in including 31-32 as part of the interpolation. They are a fairly suitable sequel to 26-28, and form an appropriate ending to the hortatory address v.—xi. Vv. 26-28 would form an abrupt conclusion. Apparently the Gilgal intended is the famous one near Jericho. It is twenty-eight miles distant from Ebal and Gerizim, but 'open passes lead up from this part of the Jordan valley into Mt. Ephraim' (Smith, *Geogr. of Holy Land*, p. 276 *seq.*), and the point of view is that of one looking westward.

¹ 'You shall utterly destroy,' etc., xii. 2-28. This section presents more than one critical difficulty. First, vv. 5-7 and 11-12 contain substantially the same injunction, viz. to sacrifice at the place which Yahwè shall choose, and there only. Here, however, we need not with Cornill suppose that

whom you dispossess served their gods, on the high mountains and on the hills and under every spreading tree;¹ 3. and you shall break down their altars, and shatter their pillars, and

there has been any interpolation. The author has the new precept on the one place of sacrifice much at heart. In 5-7 it is suggested by the preceding exhortation to destroy the high places with their idolatrous symbols. In 11-12 it is suggested again by the contrast between the freer service in the wilderness and the strict uniformity which is to follow when the people dwell safely in the land of Canaan. This kind of repetition is quite in the style of Deuteronomy. The repetition of 15-19 in 20-28 is much more striking. Each passage contains permission to kill and eat flesh, always provided that there is no sacrifice, and no eating of the blood. One cannot wonder that Stade (*Gesch. Volkes Israel*, i. p. 658) attributes this almost intolerable repetition to the hand of an interpolator, and that he is followed by Cornill (*Einleit.* p. 33); Holzinger (*Einleit. in Hexateuch*, p. 264), against Dillm., Oettli, etc. I should have been inclined to follow Stade in his supposition that the original author said nothing about killing beasts for ordinary food, that two later writers of his school supplied the omission independently in the true Deuteronomical style, and that in the end both of these additions found their way into the text. But this tempting theory is untenable. The man who wrote 20-28 must have had 15-19 before him, because he refers to it in ver. 21, 'Thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock . . . as I have commanded thee.' It is hard to see why an interpolator should take the trouble to repeat an injunction which already stood on the page before him in much the same language. It is easier to believe that the author of Deuteronomy repeated himself. First he gives the general permission, then he recalls Israel's wide territory in the glorious days of Solomon, when it would have been more impossible even than in his own later time for all Hebrews to go to Jerusalem, whenever they wished to kill beasts for meat. And here he is led to repeat his permission at length. The restriction of sacrificial worship to the temple at Jerusalem was a striking feature in Josiah's reform, and a chief point of contrast between Deuteronomy and the older 'Book of the Covenant.' See vol. i. of this work, Introduction, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

¹ 'Every spreading tree.' See vol. i. p. 19, note 1. The 'Oldest Book' views the trees planted by the altar as innocent, regarding them probably as symbols of divine power. Comp. Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 18, xxi. 33; Josh. xxiv. 26; and observe that Abraham is specially associated with holy trees, as Jacob with holy stones, Isaac and Ishmael with holy wells. The law in Deuteronomy sweeps them clean away. The older prophets only object to the worship under trees because of the immoral orgies which accompanied them (Hosea iv. 13), or else made light of them (Isa. i. 29), as the prophets made light of all external worship. Jeremiah on the other hand borrows his language on the matter directly from Deuteronomy. See Jer. ii. 20, iii. 6-23, xvii. 2.

their Asherim shall you burn with fire, and the graven images of their gods you shall hew in pieces and you shall destroy their name out of that place. 4. You shall not do so to Yahwè your God. 5. But for the place which Yahwè your God shall choose out of all your tribes to set his name there, for his dwelling shall you seek and thither shalt thou come, 6. and thither shall you bring your burnt offerings and sacrifices, your tithes and the contributions of your hand,¹ and your vows and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and of your flock. 7. And you shall eat there before Yahwè your God and you shall rejoice, you and your households, over [the fruit of] all that you have put your hand to, wherewith Yahwè thy God has blessed thee. 8. You shall not do at all, as we are doing here this day, every man whatever is right in his own eyes. 9. For you are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance which Yahwè your God is giving you. 10. But when you go over Jordan and dwell in the land which Yahwè your God bestows upon you as an inheritance, and he gives you rest from all your enemies round about and you dwell securely; 11. then the place which Yahwè your God will choose, to make his name dwell there, shall be that to which you shall bring all which I command you, your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and the contributions of your hand and all the offerings that you have chosen² in the vows which you make to Yahwè. 12. And you shall rejoice before Yahwè your God, you and your sons and daughters, and your men and women slaves, and the Levite

¹ 'The contribution of your hand.' The translation 'heave offering' has become familiar in English. But the expression simply means, that which the hand takes or lifts up from the mass, the rest being left for the use of man. The 'firstfruits' would be the chief example of such a gift.

² Offerings that you have chosen.' Usually translated 'your choice offerings.' So *e.g.* LXX., Pesh., Vulg., Rashi, Eben-Esra, and almost all moderns. It is hard to see how this makes sense, since all offerings were to be made at the temple. Few will accept the explanation of Rashi and Eben-Esra, viz. that the word conveys a hint that a man should offer in vow the best he has. The translation is against the usage of the O.T. But it makes sense, and is permitted by the derivation of the word.

that is in your gates,¹ since he has no portion or inheritance with you.

13. Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in any place that thou seest. 14. But in the place which Yahwè shall choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt offerings and there shalt thou do all which I am commanding thee. 15. Still to all thy heart's desire mayest thou slaughter and eat flesh according to the blessing of Yahwè thy God which he has given thee in all thy gates:² the unclean and the clean may eat of it, as of the gazelle and the hart. 16. Only the blood you shall not eat: on the earth shalt thou pour it forth like water. 17. Thou mayest not³ eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn and thy must and thy fresh oil and the firstlings of thy herd and thy flock, or any of the vows which thou vowest and thy freewill offerings and the contributions of thy hand. 18. But before Yahwè thy God shalt thou eat them in the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy male and female slave, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and thou shalt rejoice in Yahwè's presence over

¹ 'The Levite that is in your gates.' The expression 'in your gates' is common in the Deuteronomical writings, and peculiar to them, Exod. xx. 10 being an apparent, but only an apparent, exception. See Deut. xii. 17 *seq.*, 21, xiv. 21, 27-29, xv. 22, xvi. 11, 14, xvii. 8, xxiv. 14, xxvi. 12, xxviii. 57, xxxi. 12. So 'one of thy gates,' xv. 7, xvi. 5, xvii. 2, xviii. 6, xxiii. 17, and 'in all thy gates,' xii. 15, xvi. 18, xxviii. 52, 55. As used here it of course implies that the Levites had no cities of their own, but were scattered throughout Judah.

² 'Thou mayest slaughter and eat flesh . . . in all thy gates.' The earliest permission. In former times slaughter of beasts and sacrifice were identical, certain portions of the victim being always offered to the deity. Indeed the word here translated 'slaughter' constantly means to sacrifice, and the verbal noun formed from it almost always means 'sacrifice.' We may compare the use of *lepeúew* in Hom., *e.g. Odys.* xiii. 24. When, however, sacrifice was confined to the one central shrine, the identity of slaughter and sacrifice could no longer be maintained.

³ 'Mayest not.' לֹא תֹכֵל, etc., in this sense, vii. 22 (?), xii. 17, xvi. 5, xvii. 15, xxi. 16, xxii. 3, 19, 29, xxiv. 4; elsewhere 'a very uncommon use,' Driver's *Introduction*, p. 93. It occurs once in the 'Oldest Book,' Gen. xliii. 32.

all that thou hast won by thy toil. 19. Take heed to thyself, lest thou forsake the Levite all thy days [that thou livest] on thy ground.

20. When Yahwè thy God shall widen thy territory, as he promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul desires to eat flesh, to all thy heart's desire mayest thou eat flesh. 21. If the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose to set his name there, be too far from thee, then thou shalt slay of thy herd and thy flock which Yahwè has given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat in thy gates at all thy heart's desire. 22. Only as the gazelle and the hart are eaten, so shalt thou eat it: the unclean and clean shall eat of it alike. 23. Yet be sure not to eat the blood, for the blood is the life and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. 24. Thou shalt not eat of it: on the earth shalt thou pour it out as water. 25. Thou shalt not eat of it, that it may be well with thee and with thy sons after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the eyes of Yahwè.

26. Only such holy gifts as thou hast and thy vows thou shalt take, and go to the place which Yahwè shall choose. 27. And thou shalt offer thy burnt-offerings, the flesh and the blood, on the altar of Yahwè thy God, and the blood of thy sacrifices¹ shall be poured out on the altar of Yahwè thy God, but the flesh thou shalt eat. 28. Observe and hear all these commandments which I am commanding thee, that it may be well with thee and thy sons after thee for ever, if thou shalt do that which is good and right in the eyes of Yahwè thy God.

PROHIBITION OF HEATHEN USAGE.

29. When Yahwè thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest to dispossess them, and thou hast dis-

¹ 'Sacrifices.' The generic word is used for those sacrifices in which the offerer partook, *i.e.* all except the holocausts or burnt-offerings. These sacrificial meals were still the usual sacrifices, for the sin-offerings are later than Deuteronomy and belong to the 'Priestly' code.

possessed them and dwellest in their land, 30. take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared to follow them, after they have been destroyed from before thee, and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their gods, that I also may do likewise? 31. Thou shalt not do so to Yahwè thy God, for all that is abominable to Yahwè, that which he hates, did they do to their gods, for even their sons and their daughters do they burn with fire¹ to their gods.

XIII. 1. Everything that I am commanding you shall you observe to do; thou shalt not add to it, or diminish from it.

2. If there arise in the midst of thee a prophet or a dreamer of dreams and give thee a sign or a wonder, 3. and the sign or wonder come to pass, which he promised thee, when he said, Let us go after other gods whom you have not known and let us serve them, 4. thou shalt not listen to the words of that prophet or to that dreamer of dreams, since Yahwè your God is proving you to know whether you love Yahwè your God with all your heart and with all your soul. 5. After Yahwè your God shall you go, and him shall you fear, and his commandments shall you keep, and his voice shall you obey, and him shall you serve, and to him shall you cleave. 6. But that prophet or dreamer of dreams shall be put to death, because he has spoken revolt against Yahwè your God who brought you forth from the land of Egypt and redeemed thee from the house of slaves, to drive thee from the way in which Yahwè thy God commanded thee to walk. So shalt thou exterminate the evil² from the midst of thee.

¹ 'Sons and daughters do they burn with fire.' Here we have one of many clues to the date of Deuteronomy. The practice of offering children in sacrifice was of Canaanite origin. But it was apparently only in the later days of the kingdom of Judah that such a practice was introduced into the worship of Yahwè. At all events from the age of Manasseh and onwards we find this corruption of Yahwè worship noticed and denounced. So here 'Thou shalt not do so,' etc., and Mic. vi. 7, Jer. vii. 31, xix. 5, Ezek. xx. 25 *seq.* Jeremiah, it is true, regarded such sacrifices as offered to Baal. But it is plain from his own words, xix. 5, that such was not the intention of the offerers.

² 'Exterminate the evil.' A phrase frequent in and peculiar to this code.

7. If thy brother, the son of thy mother,¹ or thy son or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend who is as thy life, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods whom thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, 8. of the gods of the peoples which are round about you, near to thee or far from thee, from one end of the earth to the other, 9. thou shalt not consent to him nor listen to him, neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal his guilt. 10. But thou shalt surely kill him; thy hand shall be on him first to kill him, and the hand of all the people afterwards. 11. Thou shalt stone him to death, since he has sought to drive thee from Yahwè thy God who brought thee forth from the land of Egypt, from the house of slaves. 12. So all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall do no more any such wickedness in the midst of thee.

13. If thou shalt hear² that in one of thy cities which Yahwè thy God is giving thee to dwell there, 14. worthless fellows have gone forth from the midst of thee and have drawn away the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go and serve other gods which you have not known, 15. then shalt thou inquire and search and ask diligently and if it be true and sure that this abomination has been done in the midst of thee, 16. thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, putting it under a ban and all that is therein:³ 17.

So xvii. 7, 12, xix. 19, xxi. 21, xxii. 21 *seq.*, 24, xxiv. 7. The 'Book of the Covenant' simply speaks of putting to death (hiph. of מוֹת), and once has 'thou shalt not suffer to live' לֹא תַחִיָּה.

¹ 'Son of thy mother,' *i.e.* even he, so that nothing need be said about a son of the same father by another wife.

² 'If thou shalt hear.' The rendering of the Revised Version, 'If thou shalt hear tell concerning one of thy cities,' translates בַּאֲזְנוֹתֶיךָ after שָׁמַעַ as if it were שָׁמַע. This is not justified by usage. But the translation given above requires the excision of the word for 'saying' at the end of the verse. This has been already suggested by Dillm.

³ 'All that is therein.' The Massoretic text (also Onk., Pesh., Vulg.) adds, 'and the cattle thereof with the edge of the sword.' This rather awkward clause is wanting in the LXX.

and all its spoil thou shalt gather into the midst of its open space, and shalt burn with fire the city and all its spoil, as a complete offering for Yahwè thy God ; and it shall be a heap for ever ; it shall not be built again. 18. And nought of the ban shall cleave to thy hand, that Yahwè may turn from the heat of his anger and show thee mercy and have mercy on thee, and multiply thee as he has sworn to thy fathers ; 19. if thou shalt listen to the voice of Yahwè thy God to keep his commandments which I am commanding thee this day, to do that which is right in the eyes of Yahwè thy God.

XIV. 1. You are sons of Yahwè your God,¹ you shall not cut

¹ 'You are the sons,' etc., ch. xiv. 1-21. Cornill (*Enleit.* p. 33 seq.) regards the whole of this passage as interpolated, except ver. 3, and in ver. 21 the words, 'You shall not eat of anything that dies of itself; thou mayest give it to the settler that is within thy gates that he may eat it, or thou mayest sell it to a foreigner,' perhaps also the last words, 'Thou shalt not see a kid,' etc. His objections are these: (1.) The phrases 'holy people to Yahwè thy God,' and 'you are the sons of Yahwè your God,' do not occur in the legislative portion of Deuteronomy. Ans. The former phrase is at least found in Deut. vii. 6, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 9; the latter represents a thought as old as Hosea xi. 1, Isa. i. 4; comp. Deut. viii. 5. (2.) The prohibition of the wounds inflicted on themselves by mourners is ignored by Jeremiah xvi. 6. Ans. The words of Jeremiah imply that the old custom had not died out among the people. He might surely make a poetical allusion to this custom without noting, even if he remembered, the fact that it was prohibited in Deut. (3.) The language and casuistical spirit of the chapter down to ver. 21 present striking differences from the Deuteronomical style. Ans. True, but there are also, as Cornill admits, traces at least of that style in 3 and 21; and the phenomenon admits of another and better explanation.

We find then, in xiv. 3-21, a marked approximation to the style of the 'Priestly Writer,' particularly that of the similar law in Leviticus xi. We have, for example, the words מין 'kind,' and שרץ 'swarming things,' which occur frequently both in the code and narrative of the 'Priestly Writer,' but nowhere else in Deuteronomy. Further, both Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv. 3-21 deal with the same subject, but with the following differences: (1.) Leviticus simply gives, as a code should do, the distinguishing marks of clean and unclean quadrupeds. Deut. gives the same marks, but, as if the exact forms of law were not yet matured, adds what purports to be a complete list of these quadrupeds. (2.) Deut. forbids the eating of insects. So does Levit., but makes an exception in favour of locusts. Now, locusts were eaten at a late period, see Mark i. 6, and, no doubt, also in very early times. But on

yourselves or make a baldness in front of your head for the dead.² 2. For thou art a holy people to Yahwè thy God and thee has Yahwè chosen to be to him a people that are his peculiar treasure from all the nations that are on the face of the ground.

3. Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.²

this point Levit. is more complete, and therefore likely to be later. (3.) Levit. alone mentions the 'things that swarm on the earth.' (4.) Deut. alone permits that 'which dies of itself' to be sold to the settler (*μέτοικος*) and to the foreigner. In Levit. the Jews have become a Church rather than a State, and the settler is become a proselyte, bound by the same laws as the Israelite. (5.) Deut. alone adds the old law against seething a kid in its mother's milk. Levit., with a better idea of legal system, excludes it here, where it is out of place.

These facts being so, it is impossible to believe that Deut. borrowed from Levit., apart altogether from the general reasons which show the priority of Deut. as a whole. Nor is there any reason to think that the author of Lev. xi., who shows no trace of the Deuteronomical style, borrowed from Deuteronomy. But it is in the highest degree probable that Deut. copied from a written law on clean and unclean current among the priests at Jerusalem, and used by the 'Priestly Writer' also. This is Dillmann's solution (*Exod. u. Levit.* p. 481, *seq.*), and substantially that of Kuen., § 14. 6, and Holzinger (*Einleit.* p. 302). Others, *e.g.*, Graf, Kalisch, Kayser, Wellh., at least regard Deut. xiv. as earlier than Lev. xi.

The title 'sons of Yahwè' is applied to the Israelites collectively, and is quite different from the Christian idea that each man may become by grace God's son. Among the heathen divine fatherhood is physical, to the prophets it depended upon God's gracious choice of Israel, and so still rested in part on a physical basis; in the N. T. it is purely spiritual.

¹ 'You shall not cut yourselves or make a baldness in front of your head for the dead.' Both were heathenish rites. By cutting his own flesh the mourner established a covenant of blood between himself and the spirits of the dead. See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 304 *seq.*, and for the like import in cutting the hair, which the heathen Arabs laid on the tomb, *ib.* p. 306. This view is also maintained by Oort. (*Th. Tijds.* xv. 356) and Stade (*Gesch. Volk. Isr.* i. p. 389). Dillm., without at all meeting the weighty evidence for this explanation, looks on the self-inflicted wounds and shaving of the head as only natural signs. Then why is the custom so strictly forbidden here?

² 'Thou shalt not eat any abominable thing.' The distinction between clean and unclean animals is at least as old as the Jahvist story of the Flood (see Gen. vii. 2, 8, viii. 20), and is probably much older. The prohibition, as modern scholars (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 306; *Religion of the Semites*, p. 427; Stade, *Gesch. Volk. Isr.* i. p. 485;

4. These are the beasts which you shall eat, the ox, the sheep, and the goat, 5. the hart and the gazelle and the roebuck [?], and the wild goat [?] and the antelope [?] and the teo and the zemer. 6. And every beast that divides the hoof and has both hoofs cleft right through, and chews the cud, among the beasts, that shall you eat. 7. Nevertheless, these you shall not eat of such as chew the cud or divide the hoof right through: the camel and the hare and the hyrax, since they chew the cud but do not divide the hoof; they are unclean to you: 8. and the swine, since it divides the hoof but does not chew¹ the cud: of their flesh you shall not eat and their carcases you shall not touch.

9. These shall you eat of all that are in the waters: all that has fins and scales shall you eat. 10. And all that has not fins and scales you shall not eat: it is unclean to you.

11. All clean birds you may eat. 12. But these are they of

Smend, *A. T. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 327) have pointed out, is not made on sanitary but on religious grounds. There is strong evidence that the Semitic clans abstained from the flesh of certain animals because they looked upon them as specially holy, and, indeed, as their own ancestors. This worship of totems or ancestral animals is widely spread among primitive people all over the world, among Red Indians, Africans, Australian blacks. The Semites, as they advanced in civilisation, instead of speaking of the animal as a god, regarded it as sacred to a deity, but the primitive idea shines through the later gloss. Consequently, when the Hebrew clans grew together into a nation, the sacred animals of all the clans would be forbidden food, and the primitive reason of the prohibition would fade from the memory. While, however, sacred animals were tabooed, as a rule they were, on the very ground of their sanctity, eaten on special occasions, sacramentally, *i.e.* to unite the worshipper with the dæmon which inhabited the animal. The eating, in other words, was a magical rite. Such magical rites were practised by the Israelites in the last stage of their history, for in Isa. lxx. 4, lxvi. 17, we find persons eating swine's flesh, a sort of hell-broth, and the mouse as a means of sanctification. In this way we see why the law before us prohibits so many kinds of food which there would be no natural temptation to eat. To sum up, Deuteronomy unconsciously maintains one half of the old rule, viz. that certain animals were sacred, and therefore not to be eaten. It denounces implicitly but consciously the other half of the old rule, viz. that these animals may and should on solemn occasions be eaten sacramentally.

¹ 'Chew.' This verb has to be supplied from parallel text Lev. xi. 7, LXX., and Sam.

which you shall not eat: the griffon-vulture [?],¹ and the bearded vulture [?] and the osprey [?], 13. and the falcon [?],² and the different sorts of kite [?], 14. and every kind of raven, 15. and the ostrich and the tachmas and the sea-mew and the different kinds of hawk, 16 the owl [?], and the yanshuph and the tinshemeth, 17. and the pelican and the carrion-vulture and the diver, 18. and the stork [?], and the different kinds of anaphah and the hoopoe [?], and the bat, 19. and all winged things that swarm³ are unclean to you: they shall not be eaten. 20. All clean birds shall you eat. 21. You shall not eat anything that dies of itself: thou mayest give it to the settler that is within thy gates that he may eat it, or thou mayest sell it to the foreigner: for thou art a holy people to Yahwè thy God. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.⁴

TITHES AND YEAR OF RELEASE.

22. Thou shalt carefully tithe⁵ all the produce of thy seed,

¹ 'The griffon-vulture,' etc. Of the names of birds which follow many are extremely uncertain. The versions often prove by their difference from each other that they had no genuine tradition to follow. Philology and the investigations of naturalists may prove that a particular kind of bird may be intended, they seldom prove that that kind is intended. There are cases where we have no real grounds even for conjecture, and in these I have simply left the Hebrew word.

² 'The falcon,' etc. Text corrected after LXX.

³ Winged things that swarm,' *i.e.* insects.

⁴ 'A kid in its mother's milk.' See vol. i., note on Exod. xxiii. 19.

⁵ 'Tithe.' The older laws, *e.g.* the 'Book of the Covenant,' make no mention of tithes. But Hebrew kings, like other Eastern potentates, drew a tithe of the produce for their own support (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17; comp. 1 Kings iv. 7 *seq.*). The Phoenicians sometimes applied a similar contribution to the support of temples, and in the 'Oldest Book' (Gen. xxviii. 22), as well as in Amos iv. 4, allusion is made to the tithes paid as revenue for the royal chapel at Bethel. Deuteronomy introduces, probably for the first time, the free use of tithes, two years out of three in sacrificial purposes, at the pleasure of the individual worshipper, and during the third in the relief of the poor. Here observe that Amos iv. 4 should be translated, 'Bring your sacrifices in the morning and your tithes in the course of three days,' the custom apparently being to sacrifice on reaching Bethel, and to pay the tithes three days later. So Wellh., *Kleinen Propheten*, p. 78.

which comes forth from the field year by year. 23. And thou shalt eat before Yahwè thy God in the place which he shall choose to make his name dwell there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy must and of thy fresh oil and the firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock, that thou mayest learn to fear¹ Yahwè thy God always. 24. And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, because the place is far from thee, which Yahwè thy God shall choose to place his name there when Yahwè thy God shall bless thee, 25. then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thy hand and go to the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose, 26. and thou shalt spend the money on all that thy soul desires on cattle or sheep or wine or strong drink or anything for which thy soul longs, and thou shalt eat there before Yahwè thy God and shalt rejoice, thou and thy household; 27. and thou shalt not forsake the Levite that is within thy gates, since he has no portion or inheritance along with thee.

28. At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth the whole tithe of thy produce in that year and shalt deposit it within thy gates, 29. and there shall come the Levite, because he has no portion or inheritance along with thee, and the settler and the orphan and the widow that are within thy gates, and they shall eat to the full, that Yahwè thy God may bless thee in every work of thy hand which thou doest.

XV. 1. At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release.² 2. And this is the manner of the release; every

¹ 'Learn to fear,' *i.e.* by these sacrifices at the central shrine.

² 'Make a release.' In the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 10, 11, we have the same root for release, viz. פָּשַׁע. But there the 'release' applies to the land which is to be left fallow, while its produce is given over to the poor and to the beasts. In the older code 'agriculture forms the natural basis of the demands made in the interests of the poor for the so-called Sabbatical year: in Deuteronomy the law is removed from its agricultural basis, and changed into a year of release for citizens in general' (Bäntsch, *Bundesbuch*, p. 109). Does the law here require absolute abolition of debt in the seventh year? This is the interpretation of the Rabbis, and of many moderns, *e.g.* Wellh., and more recently still, of Benzinger (*Hebräisch*.

creditor shall release that which he has lent to his neighbour ; he shall not press his neighbour and his brother, since a release has been proclaimed for [the honour of] Yahwé. 3. The foreigner thou mayest press, but whatsoever of thine is with thy brother thy hand shall remit. 4. Howbeit there shall be no poor man with thee,¹ for Yahwè will surely bless thee in the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance to possess it, 5. if only thou diligently hearken to the voice of Yahwè thy God, to observe to do all this commandment which I am commanding thee this day. 6. For Yahwè thy God has blessed thee, as he promised thee, so that thou shalt lend to many nations, but thou shalt not borrow, and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee.

7. If there be with thee a poor man, one of thy brethren within one of thy gates in thy land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, or shut thy hand from thy poor brother. 8. But thou shalt be sure to open thy hand to him, and be sure to lend him sufficient for his need which befalls him. 9. Beware that there be not a base thought in thy heart, to wit, The seventh year, the year of release is near,

Archäol., p. 350). On the other hand, Dillm., Riehm, following many older authorities, interpret the law as prohibiting simply the exaction of debts till the seventh year was over. The former is the more natural interpretation. Still ver. 9 is not, as Benzinger thinks it is, decisive against Dillm. A man might well object to lend if, the seventh year being near, he would have to wait till it was over for his money. In any case the law is quite unpractical.

¹ 'There shall be no poor man with thee.' Here, says Wellh., we have an idealism utterly opposed to the law and flatly contradicted by ver. 11. Accordingly Wellh. rejects vv. 4, 5, as interpolated, and Cornill rejects ver. 6 also as of one piece with 4, 5. The contradiction between 4 and 11 is plain, and we cannot translate ver. 4, 'There ought not to be a poor man with thee.' Had this been meant, it would have been expressed more clearly. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that an interpolator inserted a direct contradiction of the text before him. It is more likely that the original author in ver. 4 is describing an ideal distribution of wealth consequent on ideal obedience. Neither was to be realised, and therefore the verbal contradiction in ver. 4. There is therefore no need of Kuenen's theory (*Onderz.* i. 1, § 14, n. 1), that the disputed verses were an after-thought of the original author himself.

and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother and thou give him nothing, and he cry to Yahwè against thee and guilt come upon thee. 10. Thou shalt freely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest to him, for because of this thing Yahwè will bless thee in all thy works and in all thou puttest thy hand to. 11. For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt freely open thy hand to thy brother, to thy needy and to thy afflicted in thy land.

12. If one of thy people, a Hebrew man or woman, sell himself to thee, then he shall serve thee six years and in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free¹ from thee. 13. And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty. 14. Thou shalt not fail to give him a present from thy flock and from thy threshing-floor and from thy winepress: that wherewith Yahwè thy God has blessed thee, shalt thou give to him. 15. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Yahwè thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command thee this thing to-day. 16. And it shall be, if he say to thee, I will not go out free from thee, because he loveth thee and thy house, since he has fared well with thee, 17. then thou shalt take an awl and thrust it through his ear into the door and

¹ 'In the seventh year thou shalt let him go free.' The law on the manumission of Hebrew slaves repeats the words and thoughts of the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxi. 2-6. The following are the chief points of difference—(1.) Deut. only mentions the case of Hebrew slaves who have sold themselves for debt. The language in the 'Book of the Covenant' includes all cases in which a Hebrew slave is purchased. (2.) Deut. extends the law to female Hebrew slaves. The case of the slave concubine, Exod. xxi. 7-11, is quite different. (3.) Deut. enjoins the master to make presents to the slave when he goes free. (4.) Most striking of all is the difference in the rite for binding a slave to voluntary but perpetual servitude. In the 'Book of the Covenant' he is to be brought 'before God,' *i.e.* to the local shrine, and the awl is to be driven through his ear to the door or post of the sanctuary. Deut. abolishes local shrines, and therefore omits the words 'before God.' It could not be expected that the master would always make the journey, possibly a long one, to the temple at Jerusalem. In Jer. xxxiv. 14 we have a clear reference to this law of Deut. The passage shows that in spite of the prophet's exertions it remained a dead letter.

he shall be thy slave for ever: and also to thy female slave thou shalt do likewise. 18. It shall not seem hard to thee when thou lettest him go free from thee: [so as to be worth] double [that which would have been got by] the hire of a hireling has he served thee six years. Thus will Yahwè thy God bless thee in all that thou doest.

19. All the firstling males¹ that are born of thy herd and thy flock, thou shalt consecrate to Yahwè thy God; thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock. 20. Before Yahwè thy God shalt thou eat it year by year in the place which Yahwè will choose, thou and thy household. 21. And if it have any blemish, if it be lame or blind, or have any evil blemish, thou shalt not sacrifice it to Yahwè thy God. 22. Within thy gates shalt thou eat it; the unclean and clean alike shall eat it, as the gazelle and the hart. 23. Only thou shalt not eat the blood thereof: on the earth shalt thou pour it forth like water.

THE YEARLY FEASTS.

XVI. 1. Observe the month of Abib to keep the Passover² to

¹ 'All the firstling males,' etc. The law in Deuteronomy is an expansion of that in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxii. 28, 29. But here no reference is made to the first-born of men, and whereas, according to the older code, the firstlings of animals fit for sacrifice are to be given to Yahwè (*i.e.* sacrificed) on the eighth day, the author of Deut. clearly implies (19^b) that they may remain much longer with their owner. It would, of course, have been impossible for a country peasant to go with each firstling on the eighth day after its birth to Jerusalem.

² 'To keep the Passover.' Here we find for the first time two ancient feasts, always more or less coincident in time, fused into one. The feast of unleavened bread is connected, not only in Deut., but also in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 15, with the exodus from Egypt. In its origin, however, the feast was certainly agricultural and probably was adopted by the Hebrews when they began to settle in the land of Canaan. This is plain from ver. 9, where the date of the feast of unleavened bread is identified with 'the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing grain.' It was the offering of first-fruits from the beginning of the barley harvest, and the offering was made in unleavened bread that the grain might be presented as much as possible in its natural state, *i.e.* with just change enough to make it fit for food. The feast began in the evening, because the months were lunar, and

Yahwè thy God, for in the month of Abib Yahwè thy God brought thee forth from Egypt by night. 2. And thou shalt sacrifice as a Passover to Yahwè thy God of the flock and the herd in the place which Yahwè shall choose to make his name dwell there. 3. Thou shalt not eat leavened bread with it: seven days shalt thou eat therewith unleavened bread, bread of affliction,—for in fearful haste didst thou go forth from the land of Egypt,—that thou mayest remember the day of thy going forth from the land of Egypt all the days of thy life. 4. And there shall no leaven be seen with thee in all thy territory during seven days, and of the flesh which thou dost sacrifice the first day at even, none shall remain till the morning. 5. Thou mayest not sacrifice the Passover within any of thy gates which Yahwè thy God is giving thee. 6. But at the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose to make his name dwell [in it], there thou shalt sacrifice the Passover in the evening at sun-down at the time of thy going forth from Egypt. 7. And thou shalt cook¹ and eat it

dated therefore from the appearance of the moon. The Pesach or Passover, on the other hand, is a feast of herdsmen, possibly of nomads like the Israelites before they settled in Canaan. It was a feast of the firstlings of the herd and flock. Like the feast of unleavened bread it fell in the spring-time, for then, as a rule, the lambs, etc., would be born. Hence in the old code, *Exod.* xxxiv. 18 *seq.*, the precept for the feast of unleavened bread is followed immediately by the statement, 'all that opens the womb is mine,' etc. The author of Deuteronomy then gives the name Pesach to the feast of firstlings, though the name, the meaning of which is uncertain, is no doubt ancient. He brings it into immediate connection with the feast of first-fruits at the beginning of the barley harvest, and he connects both feasts (that of unleavened bread in a very artificial way) with the exodus. Further, in accordance with his general principle, he requires the Pesach to be sacrificed at the central shrine, *viz.* at Jerusalem. Hence he is obliged to drop ancient features of the feast, *e.g.* its celebration as a household feast, the smearing of the door-posts with the blood of the victim, and (in connection with the feast of unleavened bread) the offering of the first sheaf. We shall see that the priestly law restores these characteristics, and is so far more ancient in substance, though not in time, than the law of the Pesach in Deuteronomy.

¹ 'Thou shalt cook,' not necessarily 'boil,' which is expressed in Hebrew by adding the words 'in water,' *Exod.* xii. 9, just as the same verb, by adding the words 'with fire,' means roast. But the language of Deuteronomy proves that the author was indifferent as to the mode of cooking the victim. Notice also that he allows the Hebrews to choose either large or small cattle for the Passover sacrifice.

in the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose, and in the morning thou mayest set out and go to thy tents. 8. Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly¹ to Yahwè, on which thou shalt do no work.

9. Seven weeks shalt thou number to thee; from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle in the standing grain thou shalt begin to number seven weeks. 10. And thou shalt keep the feast of weeks² to Yahwè thy God according to the measure of the freewill offering of thy hand, which thou shalt give as Yahwè thy God blesses thee. 11. And thou shalt rejoice before Yahwè thy God, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy male and female slave, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the settler and the orphan and the widow that are in the midst of thee, in the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose to make his name dwell there. 12. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in Egypt, and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.

13. The feast of tabernacles³ shalt thou keep seven days, when thou gatherest in from thy threshing-floor and from thy

¹ 'Solemn assembly.' The word עֲצֵרָת occurs here only in Deut. Elsewhere it is used as a technical term for the solemn assembly at the close of the feast of tabernacles, viz. in the 'Priestly Writer,' Lev. xxiii. 36, Num. xxix. 35, and in two other late books, Neh. viii. 18, 2 Chron. vii. 9. If to this we add that 5-8 seems a useless repetition of 2-4, we may incline to think with Stade (*Gesch. Volk. Isr.* i. p. 658), that 5-8 is an interpolation.

² 'Feast of Weeks,' i.e. after seven weeks from the beginning of the barley harvest. It is the agricultural feast of the summer at the end of the wheat harvest, as the feast of unleavened bread is the festival of the spring. In the 'Book of the Covenant' it is simply called 'the feast of the harvest,' Exod. xxiii. 16. The title 'feast of weeks' is found in the ancient code, Exod. xxxiv. 22. The author of Deut. omits any reference to the first-fruits offered at this feast, Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, perhaps because he treats of them separately, xviii. 4. Otherwise he makes no change, except the inevitable command to make the celebration at the central shrine.

³ 'Tabernacles.' The feast remains, as in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 16, purely natural or agricultural. There is no historical reference. What the 'Book of the Covenant' calls the 'feast of ingathering' of fruits, is here named the feast of booths, or tabernacles, probably because during the vintage the Hebrews lived in booths for convenience in their work. Isaiah (i. 8) alludes to such booths in vineyards, and they are still used in Palestine. We learn from Judges ix. 27 that the Canaanites of Shechem kept

winepress; 14. and thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy male and female slave, and the Levite, and the settler and the orphan and the widow that are within thy gates. 15. Seven days shalt thou keep the feast to Yahwè thy God in the place which Yahwè shall choose, for Yahwè thy God shall bless thee in all thy produce and all the work of thy hands; so thou shalt be altogether joyful.

16. Three times a year shall all thy males appear before Yahwè thy God in the place which he shall choose, at the feast of unleavened bread and at the feast of weeks and at the feast of tabernacles: and they shall not appear before Yahwè empty.

17. Each [shall come] with that which his hand can give, in proportion to the blessing of Yahwè thy God which he has given thee.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

18. Judges and officers shalt thou make thee¹ in all thy gates

a feast 'of jubilation' (hillulim) in connection with the vintage. In Judges xxi. 19 we read of a vintage feast kept at Shilo, when the Hebrew maidens danced in the vineyards. The same feast is referred to, 1 Sam. i. 20, as taking place 'at the coming round of the [new] year,' *i.e.* in the autumn, when the Hebrew year ended with the vintage and the new year began. See Driver's note on the passage. We cannot trace the history of the spring (Unleavened Bread and Pesach), and of the harvest festival (Feast of Weeks) so far back.

¹ 'Judges and officers shalt thou make.' The 'Book of the Covenant' is silent about the appointment of judges. The Hebrew tribes, while still nomad, would be under the authority of their Zekenim, *i.e.* 'elders.' These correspond to the sheiks of the nomad Arabs, the word sheik having the same sense. When the Hebrews settled in the agricultural districts of Canaan the 'elders' of the tribe were replaced by the 'elders' or senate of the town. But besides this many Arab tribes refer difficult cases to a special kâdi or judge, whose office is usually continued in the same family (Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.* p. 327). This kâdi answers to the Hebrew shōphēt or judge. These judges, mentioned also in Hos. vii. 7, Isa. i. 26, iii. 2, Mic. vii. 3, Zeph. iii. 3, had been known in Israel and Judah long before Deut. was written, and hence the lawgiver says nothing of the way in which they were to be appointed. The 'officers' (shoterim) seem to have belonged to the executive. It appears from Deut. xx. 5, 8, that they exercised superintendence in military affairs, and in Exod. v. 6-19 they are superintendents of public works. The Hebrew root may be compared with the Arabic, *satara*, 'to set in order,' *musaitir*, 'a prefect.'

which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, according to thy tribes, and they shall judge the people with righteous judgment. 19. Thou shalt not wrest judgment, thou shalt not respect persons, neither shalt thou take a gift,¹ for a gift blinds the eyes of the wise and overthrows the causes of the righteous. 20. Justice, justice shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live in possession of the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee.

21. Thou shalt not plant thee² an Asherah³ of any kind of wood by the side of the altar of Yahwè thy God which thou shalt make thee. 22. Neither shalt thou set thee up a pillar, which Yahwè thy God hates.

¹ 'Neither shalt thou take a gift,' etc., to the end of the verse, is taken verbally from the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 8, except that Deut., for 'the eyes of them that see,' substitutes 'the eyes of the wise.' The word for 'them that see' in the 'Book of the Covenant' seems to have become archaic, and in this, as in several other instances, Deut. substitutes a clearer and more familiar expression for that used in the older code.

² 'Thou shalt not plant thee,' xvi. 21—xvii. 7. The author who is treating of justice suddenly interrupts the connection. In xvi. 21-22 he prohibits asherahs and sacred pillars, in xvii. 1 the sacrifice of maimed or otherwise imperfect victims, in xvii. 2-7 he prescribes the mode of trial in case of idolatry. The whole passage xvi. 21—xvii. 7 is according to Stade (*Gesch. Volk. Isr.* i. p. 657), and Cornill (*Einleit.* p. 34) transferred by some blunder from another part of the book. However, xvii. 2-7 does deal with a judicial matter, and the connection, loose and imperfect as it is, may have seemed sufficient to the author of Deuteronomy. See Valetton quoted by Kuen., *Onders.* i. 1, § 14, n. 2. On the other hand, xvi. 21—xvii. 1 are out of all connection, and indeed deal with cases which could scarcely come into the courts. They are admittedly displaced. So at least Dillm. and Oettli *ad loc.*

³ 'An asherah.' For the nature of the asherah, see vol. i. p. 158, and for the pillar or obelisk, vol. i. p. 52. This is the earliest known prohibition of the asherahs or sacred pole. In Exod. xxxiv. 13 they are only forbidden when adjuncts of heathen altars. Micah v. 13 is of uncertain date, and probably post-exilic. There was an asherah by the altar of Yahwè at Samaria and at Bethel (2 Kings xiii. 6, xxiii. 15). There were also asherahs in Judah, 2 Kings xviii. 4, including the house of Yahwè in Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxiii. 6. So the 'Oldest Book' instead of condemning the sacred pillars mentions their erection as an act of special piety on the part of the Patriarchs, Gen. xxviii. 18-22, xxxv. 14. See also Exod. xxiv. 4. Hosea iii. 4 takes for granted that altar and 'pillar' will be found together. We cannot with Dillm. limit the pillars forbidden here to such as were openly connected with the worship of other gods. The meaning clearly is that all pillars erected for purposes of worship are hateful to Yahwè.

XVII. 1. Thou shalt not sacrifice to Yahwè thy God an ox or a sheep which has a blemish or anything amiss, for that is an abomination to Yahwè thy God.

2. If there be found in the midst of thee or within one of thy gates which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, a man or a woman who does evil in the eyes of Yahwè thy God in transgressing his covenant, 3. and has gone and served other gods and bowed down to them, to the sun or moon or to the whole host of the heavens,¹ which thing I have not commanded, 4. and if it be told thee and thou hast heard of it, thou shalt inquire diligently, and, behold, if it be true and the thing be certain that such abomination has been wrought in Israel, 5. then thou shalt bring forth this man or this woman,² and shalt stone them with stones that they die. 6. On the declaration of two witnesses or three witnesses shall he that is to die be put to death: he shall not be put to death on the declaration of one witness. 7. The hand of the witnesses shall be upon him first to put him to death and the hand of all the people afterwards. So shalt thou exterminate the evil from the midst of thee.

8. If there arise a matter³ too hard for thee in judgment

¹ 'The whole host of the heavens.' See note on iv. 19. The Massoretic text has 'and to the sun and moon.' The LXX. omits the copula, and in any case represents the sense intended. The sun, moon, etc., are the 'other gods' of whom the author is thinking.

² 'This man or woman.' The Massoretic text adds, 'who have done this evil thing to thy gates, the man or the woman.' This clumsy addition is absent from the Vatican text of the LXX.

³ 'If there arise a matter.' We have the germ of this law on the supreme court in the 'Book of the Covenant,' xxii. 8, in which judicial matters are to be brought 'to God,' i.e. to the local sanctuary, and to the oracle of the priest, given there. See also Exod. xxi. 6. But the court here referred to is, of course, different from anything mentioned in the 'Book of the Covenant.' The passage before us refers to a court existing only at Jerusalem, and composed partly of priests, partly of lay judges. Here indeed the author speaks only of one lay judge, but it appears from xix. 17 that he had assessors. Plainly the court had existed some time before Deut. was written, for the reader is not told how the judge is to be appointed or the priests chosen. He is supposed to be familiar with the institution, and is only bidden to respect it. In 2 Chron. xix. 8 the institution of a similar court is attributed

between blood and blood, between plea and plea, or between stroke and stroke, matters of controversy within thy gates, then thou shalt arise and go up to the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose. 9. And thou shalt go to the priests the Levites and to the judge who shall be in those days, and thou shalt inquire, and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment. 10. And thou shalt do according to the tenor of the sentence which they shall show thee from this place, which Yahwè thy God shall choose, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they shall teach thee. 11. According to the tenor of the instruction which they shall give thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall show thee to the right or to the left. 12. And as to the man that acts insolently in not listening to the priest who stands to minister there before Yahwè thy God or to the judge, that man shall die and thou shalt exterminate the evil from Israel. 13. And all the people shall hear and fear, and shall not act insolently any more.

THE LAW CONCERNING THE KING.¹

14. When thou shalt come to the land which Yahwè thy God

to Jehoshaphat. The Chronicler writes, as usual, with little idea of the difference between pre-exilic times and his own, so that he speaks of a 'high priest' as president of the clerical, and a prince of the house of Judah as set over the lay members of the court. It is possible that a substratum of truth underlies his narrative. Wellh., as quoted by Holzinger, vol. i. p. 264, considers that the mention of Levitical priests as part of the court has been interpolated here, as in xx. 2 *seq.*, and xxi. 5. The reason given, viz. that the mention in ver. 9 is plainly an after-thought, seems to have little or no force. Notice finally that the original author of Deut. here, as elsewhere, uses the word *torah* in its old sense of oral instruction, not in that of a legal code.

¹ 'The law concerning the king.' The early Hebrews rightly regarded the kingly power as a chief blessing of their national life. We find the story of its origin, a story which is credible and faithful on the whole, in 1 Sam. ix.—x. 16, and xi., with the omission of 12-14. The Israelites hitherto formed no national unity. They were only occasionally and imperfectly united. When, however, they had to contend no longer merely with the Canaanites but with the organised forces of the Philistines, they had to choose

is giving thee and shalt possess it and dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like all the nations which are round me, 15. thou shalt by all means set one as king over

between union under a king and annihilation. They chose the former alternative, and to some extent under Saul, more fully under David, they were delivered from oppression without and anarchy within. We may compare the Philistines with the Danes, and David with Alfred, in the early history of our own nation. To the early Hebrew there could be no opposition between the kingly power and the divine rule. Was not the king himself 'the anointed of Yahwè'? The 'Oldest Book' does not forget the blessings that came with the institution of the kingdom. On the contrary the Song of Moses describes the twofold happiness of Israel in its God and in its King. 'The assembly of Jacob [received] a possession. And there was a king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people were gathered, all the tribes of Israel together' (Deut. xxxiii. 4-5). Similarly in the prophecies of Balaam (Num. xxiii. 21), 'Yahwè his God is with him, and the shout of a king is among them.' Again with special reference to Saul (Num. xxiv. 7), 'His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted,' and to David (Num. xxiv. 17), 'A star has come forth from Jacob, and a sceptre has risen from Israel, and shall smite through the sides of Moab, and the head of all the sons of tumult [of Seth?], and Edom shall be a possession.' Deuteronomy keeps to the old and historical view, so far at least as this that it regards the settled and united life of the nation as beginning with David. It is only when Yahwè 'chooses a place,' *i.e.* when David conquered Jerusalem and his son built the temple there, that order can be introduced, and men are to do no longer what is 'right in their eyes.' At the same time the author lived at a period when the abuses of royal power had long been keenly felt. The splendour of Solomon's court had laid burdens on the people, which led to the separation of Israel from Judah. Hence the prohibition of multiplying horses which Solomon first introduced into the Hebrew army (1 Kings v. 6, x. 26-28 *seq.*), and of great harems, of which Solomon's was the chief example (1 Kings xi. 3), of accumulating wealth, as Solomon did on the largest scale (1 Kings x. 14 *seq.*, 27). Like the prophets down to Jeremiah (ii. 18-36) the author of Deut. disapproves intercourse for trade or alliance with Egypt. On the whole he looks on royalty as permissible rather than positively good. But he does not, like a later writer in 1 Sam. vii.—viii., represent it as apostasy from the theocratic rule.

Wellh., Stade, Cornill, Benzinger (*Hebr. Archäol.* p. 312 *seq.*), assign this law on the king to a later writer of the Deuteronomical school. The reasons given are insufficient. True, the legislator, who as yet has written nothing, refers to 'a copy of this law.' This, however, is a very natural anticipation, impossible perhaps for Moses, but quite possible for the writer of Deut. The admonition not to make a foreigner king is certainly surprising, and would be less strange if given after the exile. But this objection, the only one which has real force, can scarcely be taken as conclusive. Judah was a vassal kingdom under Assyria long before the Babylonian exile.

thee whom Yahwè thy God shall choose; one from among thy brethren shalt thou set over thee as king, thou mayest not put over thee a foreigner who is not thy brother. 16. Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor bring the people back to Egypt to multiply horses, whereas Yahwè has said to you, You shall not return that way any more. 17. Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, lest his heart turn aside, neither shall he multiply to himself silver and gold in excess. 18. And it shall be, when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write for himself a copy of this law in a book, [taking it] from the priests the Levites. 19. And it shall be with him and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear Yahwè his God, to keep all the words of this law, and these statutes to do them, 20. that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right or to the left, that he may prolong his days over his kingdom, he and his sons in the midst of Israel.

THE LAW CONCERNING THE PRIESTS.¹

XVIII. 1. The priests the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi shall have no portion or inheritance with Israel: the fire-offerings of Yahwè and his inheritance shall they eat. 2. And he shall

¹ 'The law concerning the priests.' It seems needless to spend words in proving that this section states explicitly, as the Book of Deut. implies throughout, that all priests are Levites, and all Levites priests by right. In fact, however, Deut. withdrew the exercise of priestly functions by the Levites at the high places or local shrines. Sacrifice was now confined to Jerusalem, and the priests who ministered at Jerusalem would naturally be unwilling to share their work and their profits with their brethren from the country. Accordingly the author of Deuteronomy ordains that these country Levites are to be received in the temple at Jerusalem, and are to enjoy equal rights. His generous design proved impractical, as appears from 2 Kings xxiii. 9. It may be observed by the way that this divergence between the account of the finding of Deuteronomy and its effect in 2 Kings, and the precept of Deut. itself confirms, if confirmation were needed, the substantial truth of the former. The last words of this section, viz. at the end of verse 8, are unintelligible and plainly corrupt. No successful emendation has been made, nor do the versions afford any help.

have no inheritance in the midst of his brethren ; Yahwè is his inheritance, as he has spoken to them. 3. And this shall be the right of the priests from the people, from those that make a sacrifice whether of an ox or a sheep, that they shall give to the priest the shoulder and the two cheeks and the maw. 4. The best of thy corn and of thy must and of thy fresh oil, and the best of the fleece of thy flock, shalt thou give him. 5. For him has Yahwè thy God chosen from all thy tribes to stand and minister in the name of Yahwè, him and his sons for ever.

6. But if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel where he is settled, and shall come, just as he desires, to the place which Yahwè shall choose, 7. then he shall minister in the name of Yahwè his God like all his brethren the Levites who stand there before Yahwè. 8. Like portions shall they eat.

THE LAW CONCERNING PROPHETS.¹

9. When thou art come into the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of these nations.² 10. There shall not be found in thee any one

¹ 'The law concerning prophets.' This section closes that part of Deut. which treats of the recognised authorities in the state. The author begins with the judges, passes to the kings and ends with the prophets. Evidently he lived at a time when prophecy was by no means extinct : he was in fact contemporary with Jeremiah. The prophet fitly takes his place among the instruments of government. A written law is necessarily insufficient, because cases arise which the legislator has not foreseen. The prophet fills up the gap by declaring the will of God. He is unlike the heathen wizard who merely discloses secrets. The prophet, on the contrary, declares the righteous will of God, and his message, whether it deals with the present or future, is moral and religious. But Hebrew prophecy was in the end killed by the shadow of the law. The dead book replaced the living voice and introduced an intensely legal spirit, which supplemented the law, not by prophecy, but by the fiction of legal traditions. Thus Deuteronomy, the first instance among the Hebrews of a tolerably full and absolutely authoritative religious law, sincerely recognises the greatness of prophecy, and embodies much of its best teaching, but at the same time strikes its knell. There is no reason to regard this section with Cornill as spurious on account of its hortatory character.

² 'The abominations of these nations.' For the popularity of foreign witchcraft in Judah, see Isa. ii. 6.

who makes his son or his daughter pass through the fire,¹ one that uses divination, one that practises augury [?], or an enchanter, or one that takes omens, 11. or a charmer or one that consults a ghost or familiar spirit, or one that inquires of the dead. 12. For an abomination to Yahwè is every one who does these things, and because of these abominations Yahwè thy God dispossesses them from before thee. 14. Thou shalt be perfect with Yahwè thy God. 15. For those nations which thou art dispossessing listen to those that practise augury [?], and to diviners, but as for thee Yahwè thy God has not suffered thee to do so. 15. A prophet² from the midst of thee from thy brethren like me shall Yahwè thy God raise up for thee; to him shall you listen, 16. according to all that thou didst ask of Yahwè thy God in Horeb in the day of assembly, saying, Let me hear no more the voice of Yahwè my God, neither let me see any longer this great fire, that I die not. 17. And Yahwè said to me, They are right in that which they have spoken. 18. A prophet will I raise up to them from their brethren like thee, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I shall command him. 19. And it shall come to pass that the man who will not listen to my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. 20. Only the prophet who will presume

¹ 'Makes his son or his daughter pass through the fire.' It is plain from Jeremiah vii. 31 that the children were really burnt. Such sacrifices were offered to Baal and Molech (Jer. xix. 5, xxxii. 35), and were probably of Canaanite and Ammonite origin. But they were engrafted on the worship of Yahwè, as appears from Micah vi. 7, Jer. xix. 5, Ezek. xx. 25-26. It is interesting to observe that according to a view common among scholars the traces of human sacrifice among the Greeks, *e.g.* in the Tauropolia at Halæ in Attica may have been due to Canaanite, *i.e.* Phœnician influence.

² 'A prophet.' Not one great or special prophet (John vi. 14, vii. 40), still less the Messiah (Acts iii. 22, vii. 37), but a prophet from time to time, as need arises, a succession of prophets. The Israelites in cases of emergency consulted soothsayers. Yahwè relieves them from this superstition by speaking to them through a prophet, who was, like Moses, the recipient of the divine message. One prophet, however great, would not have supplied the want. Just so in xvii. 14, Israel says, 'I will set a king over me,' *i.e.* a succession of kings, as is expressly implied in ver. 20.

to speak in my name a word which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods,—that prophet shall die. 21. And if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word which Yahwè has not spoken? 22. If the prophet speak in the name of Yahwè, and the word is not fulfilled,¹ and does not come to pass, this is the word which Yahwè has not spoken: in presumption did the prophet speak it: thou shalt not be afraid of him.

LAWS CONCERNING MURDER AND INCULPABLE HOMICIDE.

XIX. 1. When Yahwè thy God shall cut off the nations whose land Yahwè thy God is giving thee and thou dost dispossess them and dwellest in their cities and their houses; 2. three cities² shalt thou separate for thee in the midst of thy land which

¹ 'If . . . the word is not fulfilled.' The prophets themselves took a much higher and less mechanical view of their office. 'I,' says Micah (iii. 8), 'am filled with strength, with the spirit of Yahwè and with judgment and with fortitude to announce to Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin.' So Jeremiah (xxiii. 29) maintains that the prophetic word proves its reality, not by the fulfilment, but by the moral force with which it destroys all that resists Yahwè's righteous will. 'Is not my word as a fire and as a hammer which breaks the rock?'

² 'Three cities.' See note on iv. 41. The blood-revenge is the principle of primitive police in Semitic as in Aryan clans. The clan of the slain man demands the blood of the slayer, or, failing that, the blood of one of his clan, the clan forming a moral unity. This blood-revenge was modified by the fact that the homicide might take refuge at the shrine of a god, and this right of asylum was extended in cities of Asia Minor to the worst criminals, a state of things which continued down to the times of Tiberius (Tacit., *Annal.* iii. 60-63). The 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xxi. 13, 14) recognises the important distinction between the murderer and the mere homicide, limiting the right of asylum to the latter. Deuteronomy, abolishing the local shrines, deprived the homicide of his refuge at the altars of Yahwè. Instead the legislator provides three cities to which the homicide may flee. The idea seems to have originated with the author of Deut., for he has no technical name for such cities. The political situation of Judah in his time shows itself in his enactment. He considers three cities enough as yet. But three more are to be added if, by faithful observance of the law, the Israelites recover the old territory of David and Solomon. Ver. 14 seems to have little or no connection with the context. Kuenen, Oettli, and others (against Dillmann), suppose it to have been misplaced accidentally.

Yahwè thy God is giving thee to possess it. 3. Thou shalt keep the way in order and shalt divide into three districts the territory of thy land which Yahwè thy God shall give for an inheritance, and this shall be in order that every man-slayer may flee thither. 4. And this is the case of the man-slayer who may flee thither and live. He who kills his neighbour unawares without being his enemy in time past,—5. he for instance who goes with his neighbour into the wood to cut timber and his hand fetches a stroke with the axe to cut the timber, and the iron slips from the shaft and hits his neighbour so that he die,—shall flee to one of these cities to save his life ; 6. lest the avenger of blood, while his heart is hot, follow after the man-slayer and overtake him, because the way is long, and smite him mortally, although he was not worthy of death, since he was not his enemy in time past. 7. Therefore I command thee, saying, Three cities shalt thou separate for thee. 8. And if Yahwè thy God shall enlarge thy territory, as he swore to thy fathers and shall give thee all the land which he promised to give thy fathers, 9. if thou shalt keep all this commandment to do it which I command thee this day to love Yahwè thy God and to walk in his ways for ever, then shalt thou add three cities more for thee besides these three, 10. that the blood of an innocent man be not shed in the midst of thy land, which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance, and so the guilt of blood be upon thee.

11. But if a man flee into one of these cities, that hated his neighbour and lay in wait for him and rose up against him and smote him mortally so that he died, 12. then the elders of his city shall send and take him thence and deliver him into the hand of the avenger of blood, that he may die. 13. Thine eye shall not pity him, but thou shalt put away the blood of the innocent from Israel, that it may go well with thee.

REMOVAL OF LANDMARKS AND PERJURY.

14. Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark,¹ which

¹ 'Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark.' The sudden growth

they of old time have set in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit in the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee to possess it.

15. One witness shall not count against a man with reference to any iniquity or any sin, in the case of any crime that he commits: on the declaration of two witnesses or on the declaration of three witnesses shall a matter be established. 16. If a wrongful witness arise against a man, to testify transgression against him, 17. then the two men between whom the controversy is shall stand before Yahwè, before the priests,¹ and the judges, who shall be in these days, 18. and the judges shall search well, and if it turn out that the witness be a false witness, that he has testified falsely against his brother, 19. then shall you do to him² as he thought to do to his brother, and thou shalt exterminate the evil from the midst of thee. 20. So those who are left shall hear and fear, and shall henceforth commit no more any such evil in the midst of thee. 21. And thine eye shall not pity. Life for life,³ eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

LAWS CONCERNING WAR.⁴

XX. 1. When thou goest forth to war against thine enemy,

of commerce under Uzziah had undermined the old and simpler agricultural life of the people of Judah. Capital was accumulated in a few hands and enabled the rich to oppress the poor landowners. Isaiah (v. 8) denounces those who add field to field till there is 'no room,' and they 'dwell alone in the land.' So Isaiah's contemporary Micah (ii. 2), and at an earlier date Hosea (v. 10). See Wellhausen's note on the last passage and some excellent remarks of Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 203 *seq.*

¹ 'Before the priests.' There is no reason to follow Cornill in his objection to the authenticity of these words. See note on xvii. 8.

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³ 'Life for life,' etc. Almost verbally from the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxi. 24.

⁴ 'Laws concerning war.' The impracticable character of the rules do not justify Wellhausen in dismissing the whole section, xx. 1-9, as of later origin.

and seest horses and chariots [and] a people more numerous than thou, thou shalt not be afraid of them, for Yahwè thy God who brought thee up from the land of Egypt, is with thee. 2. And it shall be, when you draw near to the battle, that the priest¹ shall approach and speak to the people, 3. and shall say to them, Hear, O Israel, you draw near this day to battle against your enemies: let not your heart be faint: fear not nor tremble, neither be affrighted at them: 4. for Yahwè your God is he that goes with you, to fight for you with your enemies, to give you the victory. 5. And the officers shall say to the people thus: What man is there that has built a new house and has not dedicated it? Let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the battle and another man dedicate it. 6. And what man is there that has planted a vineyard and has not taken it for his own use? Let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the war and another man turn it first to his use. 7. And what man is there that has espoused a wife and has not taken her? Let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the war and another man take her. 8. And the officers shall speak further to the people and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and fainthearted? Let him go and return to his house, lest his brethren's heart melt like his own. 9. And it shall be when the officers have made an end of speaking to the people, that they shall appoint captains of troops at the head of the people.

10. When thou drawest nigh to a city to fight against it, then offer it terms of peace. 11. And it shall be that if it make thee a peaceable answer and open to thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall become tributary to thee and subject to thee. 12. But if it will not come to

We need not even with Cornill regard 2-4 as secondary. The use of the plural form of address alternates in many other passages with the singular, and may be due to the original writer. The mention of 'the priest' in these verses, and not afterwards, has some weight, but is not conclusive.

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FEMALE CAPTIVES. RIGHTS OF FIRSTBORN. AUTHORITY
OF PARENTS.

10. If thou goest forth to battle against thine enemies, and Yahwè thy God deliver them into thy hand and thou carriest away captives from them, 11. and seest among the captives a woman of beauteous form and hast a desire to her and wouldst take her as a wife for thyself, 12. then bring her to thy house and she shall shave her head and pare her nails, 13. and she shall put away from off her the garment in which she was taken and shall dwell in thy house and bewail her father and her mother a full month; and afterwards thou shalt go in to her and be her husband and she shall be thy wife. 14. And it shall be, if thou have no delight in her, that thou shalt let her go, as her own mistress: thou shalt by no means sell her for money: thou shalt not tyrannise over her, because thou hast humbled her.

15. If a man have two wives, the one loved much and the other less,¹ and they have both borne him children, both she that is more and she that is less loved, and if the firstborn son be hers that is less loved, 16. then it shall be when he gives over to his sons that which he has, as their inheritance, that he may not give the rights of the firstborn to the son of her he loves more over the son of her that is loved less who is the firstborn. 17. But he shall acknowledge the firstborn the son of her that is loved less, by giving him a double portion of all he has; for he is the firstling² of his strength: the right of primogeniture is his.

18. If a man have a perverse and rebellious son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they chastise him, will not listen to them, 19. then his

¹ 'The one loved more, the other less.' This rendering gives the utmost which the Hebrew conveys. Comp. Gen. xxix. 30, 31. Jacob 'loved Rachael more than Leah' . . . 'Yahwè saw that Leah was loved less' (שנאה).

² 'The firstling.' Not so much the beginning as the best. The ancestral blood flowed purest in the firstborn

father and his mother shall seize him and bring him out to the elders of his city and to the gate of his place, 20. and shall say to the elders of his city, This son of ours is perverse and rebellious; he will not obey our voice: he is a spendthrift and a drunkard. 21. And all the men of his city shall stone him¹ with stones, till he die. So shalt thou exterminate the evil from the midst of thee: and all Israel shall hear and fear.

BURIAL OF A CORPSE THAT HAS BEEN HUNG ON A TREE.

22. And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death and he be put to death and thou hang him on a tree, 23. his corpse shall not remain all night on the tree,² but thou shalt be sure to bury him the same day, for he that is hanged is accursed of God, and thou shalt not defile thy ground which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance.

DUTIES OF HUMANITY. THE NATURAL ORDER OF THINGS NOT TO BE INVERTED. LAWS ON SLANDER AND VIOLATION.

XXII. 1. If thou see³ thy brother's ox or his sheep astray,

¹ 'Stone him.' This is the only occurrence of the word אֶבֶן for 'stone' in Deut. Elsewhere in the book אֶבֶן is always used (xiii. 11, xvii. 5, xxii. 21, 24). The other word, אֶבֶן, is employed by the 'Priestly Writer,' as also by Ezekiel and the author of 1 Kings xii. 18. There is no reason for Giesebrecht's statement that the word is specially Aramaic. It belongs to an original Semitic stock, being found in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. Its presence here is due to the fact that in Deut. xxi. 10—xxv. 19 we have a series of laws on a variety of subjects derived, not only from the 'Book of the Covenant,' but also from some other source or sources unknown to us. Consequently we have in this part of Deut. a series of phrases and words which do not occur in any other portion of the book.

² 'Shall not remain all night on the tree.' Originally, perhaps, the corpse was left there as an aggravation of the death-penalty. The Hebrews believed (see Isa. xiv., and comp. Amos ii. 1, Isa. xxxiii. 12, Jer. xvi. 4, Ezek. xxix. 5, 2 Kings ix. 10) that the ghost suffered if the body was not buried. This belief is common to all races in the early stages of their life: it is, e.g. the idea on which the story of Antigone, as exhibited by Sophocles, turns. Here this aggravation of the penalty is mitigated. This brief law contains two linguistic peculiarities not found in Deut. outside of xxi. 10—xxv. 19, viz. the Hebrew words translated 'sin worthy of death' (comp. xxii. 26), and 'defile' (comp. xxiv. 4).

³ 'If thou see,' etc., xxii. 1-3. Expanded from the 'Book of the Covenant,'

thou shalt not withdraw thyself from them ; thou shalt carefully restore them to thy brother. 2. And if thy brother is not near thee, or if thou dost not know him, thou shalt bring it home to thy house, and it shall be with thee till thy brother seeks after it ; and thou shalt restore it to him. 3. And so shalt thou do to his ass, and so shalt thou do to his garment, and so shalt thou do to every lost thing of thy brother which shall be lost to him and which thou shalt find : thou mayest not withdraw thyself.

4. If thou seest ¹ thy brother's ox or his ass fallen down by the way, thou shalt not withdraw thyself from them : thou shalt by all means help him to raise them up.

5. A woman shall not wear that which appertains to a man, nor shall a man put on a woman's garment, for an abomination to Yahwè ² thy God is he that does these things.

6. If a bird's nest chance to be before thee on the way in any tree or on the earth, with young ones or eggs and the mother sitting on the young ones or the eggs, thou shalt not take the mother with the brood : 7. thou shalt in any wise let the mother go and take to thee the brood, that it may be well with thee and that thou mayest prolong thy days.

8. If thou buildest a new house, thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not the guilt of blood on thy house, if any one falls from it.

9. Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with two kinds of seed, otherwise the whole is confiscated to the sanctuary, the seed which thou sowest and the produce of the vineyard. 10. Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together. 11. Thou shalt not wear mixed stuff, wool and linen together.

Exod. xxiii. 4. Note that whereas the earlier code speaks of restitution to an 'enemy,' *i.e.* to an unfriendly Hebrew, Deut. speaks of all Hebrews as brethren. With him 'thy brother' means 'thy fellow-countryman.'

¹ 'If thou seest,' etc. An expansion in more modern and clearer Hebrew of the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 5.

² 'An abomination to Yahwè,' probably because the custom was associated with licentious idolatry.

12. Thou shalt make twisted cords¹ on the four borders of thy vesture, wherewith thou coverest thyself.

13. If any man take a wife and go into her and become averse to her, 14. and make wanton charges against her and bring her into evil repute, and say, I took this woman and when I came near to her, I did not find in her tokens of virginity, 15. then shall the father of the damsel and her mother, take and bring forth the tokens of the damsel's virginity to the elders of the city at the gate. 16. And the damsel's father shall say to the elders, I gave my daughter to this man to wife, and he is become averse to her, 17. and, lo, he has made wanton charges against her, saying, I did not find in thy daughter the tokens of virginity; now these are the tokens of my daughter's virginity. 18. Then the elders of the city shall take the man and chastise him. 19. And they shall fine him a hundred pieces of silver and give them to the father of the damsel, since he brought into evil repute a virgin of Israel: and she shall be his wife; he may not send her away all his days. 20. But if this thing be true, that the tokens of virginity were not found in the damsel, 21. then they shall bring forth the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones till she die, since she has wrought wickedness in Israel by unchastity in her father's house. So shalt thou exterminate the evil from the midst of thee.

22. If a man be found lying with a woman married to a husband, they shall both of them die, the man who lay with the woman and the woman. So shalt thou exterminate the evil from Israel.

23. If there be a damsel that is a virgin betrothed to a man, and [another] man find her in the city and lie with her, 24. you shall bring them both forth to the gates of this city and shall stone them with stones till they die, the damsel, because

¹ 'Twisted cords.' See note on vi. 8-9. The fringes were of the nature of amulets or charms. For a plausible theory of their origin, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 416, *seq.*

she did not cry [for help] in the city, and the man, because he humbled his neighbour's wife. So shalt thou exterminate the evil from the midst of thee. 25. But if it be in the field that the man find the damsel that is espoused, and the man lay hold on her and lie with her, then the man only that lay with her shall die. 26. But to the damsel thou shalt do nothing: there is in the damsel no sin worthy of death: the case is like that of a man falling on his neighbour and slaying him. 27. For he found her in the field; the betrothed damsel cried [for help] and there was none to save her.

28. If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, who is not betrothed, and take her and lie with her, and they be found, 29. then the man who lies with her shall give the damsel's father fifty pieces of silver and she shall be his wife, because he has humbled her; he may not put her away all his days.

XXIII. 1. A man shall not take his father's wife¹ and shall not lift up his father's skirt.²

PERSONS TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE ASSEMBLY OF YAHWE.
PRESERVATION OF PURITY IN THE CAMP.

2. He that is mutilated³ by crushing [of the testicles] or has

¹ 'Shall not take his father's wife.' The Hebrews thought a man entitled to his father's wives and concubines, precisely as he was entitled to inherit the rest of his property. The Hebrew word for husband 'ba'al' implies that a man is the owner of his wife, and at the end of the decalogue in Exod. she is classed with his other property. Thus Ishbosheth's anger with Abner (2 Sam. iii. 7), when he wanted to take a concubine that had belonged to Saul, arose from the fact that Abner was encroaching on his birthright. So Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 22) publicly made his father's concubines his own, that in this way he might publicly enter on the royal inheritance. With the same view Adonijah (1 Kings ii. 22, comp. vv. 15-16) asked the land of Abishag. Such unions, in spite of the higher prophetic morality and the prohibition, continued to be common in Jerusalem (Ezek. xxii. 10).

² 'Father's skirt.' Not the skirt of the dress as such, but of the dress as used to serve for the blanket of the nuptial couch.

³ 'He that is,' etc. Wellhausen's rejection of vv. 2-7, *Hexateuch*, p. 193, depends on his theory, that originally the legislation of Deuteronomy claimed to have been given at Sinai, not nearly forty years later in the plains of Moab. He is fully answered by Kuenen, *Onderz.*, i. 1. § 14, 1. With more

his privy member cut off, shall not come into the temple of Yahwè. 3. No mongrel [?] ¹ shall come into the assembly of Yahwè: even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to him come into the assembly of Yahwè. 4. No Ammonite or Moabite shall come into the assembly of Yahwè; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them come into the assembly of Yahwè for ever. 5. Because they did not meet you ² with bread and water on the way, when you came forth from Egypt and hired against thee Balaam the son of Beor from Pethor in Mesopotamia to curse thee. 6. But Yahwè thy God did not choose to listen to Balaam and Yahwè thy God turned the curse into a blessing for thee, because Yahwè thy God loved thee. 7. Thou shalt not seek their peace or their prosperity all thy days for ever.

8. Thou shalt not hold an Edomite in abomination, for he is thy brother: thou shalt not hold an Egyptian in abomination, for thou wast a settler in Egypt. 9. The children that are born

reason Geiger, *Urschr.*, pp. 89-91, argues that the language of 2-9 differs from that of Deut., and points to a post-exilic date. Certainly the phrase 'assembly of Yahwè' found six times here occurs nowhere else in Deut. We find it, however, in Micah ii. 5. The whole phrase, 'seek their peace or their prosperity,' is not found elsewhere in any pre-exilic document (see Ezra ix. 12), but, considering that the phrase is good Hebrew, this proves nothing. No doubt, the language here shows marks of a style other than that of the author of Deut. The reason is that the author was also a compiler and, as has been already said, took material for the laws in xxi. 10—xxv. 19 from a book not used elsewhere, and unknown to us. The mutilation referred to is probably religious like that of the Galli. For a more spiritual view, see Isa. lvi. 4 *seq.*

¹ 'Mongrel.' The origin of the word is unknown and its meaning. The only other passage in which it occurs, Zech. ix. 6, favours the conjecture that it refers to 'the mongrel population which gathers in waste and depopulated places' (Wellh. on Zech.). The Rabbinical explanations are 'born in incest' or 'in adultery' (the latter adopted by Peshitto). In any case the translation 'bastard' (LXX., Vulg.) is inadequate.

² 'Because they did not meet you,' etc. In ii. 29 the Deuteronomical writer, who is distinct from and later than the author of Deut. in its original form, seems to take a much more favourable view of the conduct of the Moabites. The reference to Balaam which follows agrees in substance and spirit with the story as told in the 'Oldest Book,' Num. xxii. 2—xxiv. 25.

to them in the third generation shall come into the assembly of Yahwè.

10. When thou goest forth in camp against thine enemies, thou shalt keep thee from every offensive thing. 11. If there be among you any man that is not clean by reason of that which befalls him by night, let him go forth outside the camp: he shall not come within the camp. 12. But it shall be that towards evening he shall wash himself in water and at sunset he shall come into the camp. 13. And thou shalt have a place also without the camp and thither shalt thou go outside. 14. And thou shalt have a spade among thine implements; and it shall be, when thou sittest down outside, thou shalt dig with it and shalt turn back and cover thy filth. 15. For Yahwè thy God walks in the midst of thy camp¹ to deliver thee and to deliver up thine enemies to thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy, that he may not behold in thee anything unsightly and turn away from thee.

RUNAWAY SLAVES AND SACRED PROSTITUTES.

16. Thou shalt not deliver to his master a slave who is escaped from his master to thee. 17. He shall dwell with thee in the midst of thy [district] in the place which he shall choose within one of thy gates, where it suits him: thou shalt not oppress him.

18. There shall not be among the daughters of Israel any one consecrated to prostitution, neither shall there be among the sons of Israel a male consecrated to prostitution. 19. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a prostitute or the price of a catamite into the house of Yahwè thy God for any vow, for an abomination to Yahwè thy God are they both.

¹ 'Yahwè thy God walks in the midst of thy camp.' The idea that war was sanctified by the presence of the god who went out to fight for his people is ancient and natural. Consequently the etiquette or taboo to be observed corresponded to that observed in a temple. See 1 Sam. xxi. 5-6, and Robertson Smith's interesting note, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 435-436.

INTEREST. VOWS. LIMITED USE OF NEIGHBOUR'S VINEYARD
AND FIELD.

20. Thou shalt not take interest¹ from thy brother either for money or for food or for anything on which interest is laid.

21. From a foreigner thou mayest take interest, but from thy brother thou mayest not take interest, that Yahwè thy God may bless thee in all to which thou puttest thy hand, on the land whither thou art going to possess it.

22. If thou shalt vow a vow to Yahwè thy God, thou shalt not be slack to pay it, for Yahwè thy God will not fail to require it of thee and it would be sin in thee. 23. But if thou shalt forbear to vow, that will be no sin in thee. 24. The utterance of thy lips shalt thou observe and do, according as thou hast vowed to Yahwè thy God, a freewill offering, which thou hast promised with thy mouth.

25. If thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, thou mayest eat grapes according to thine appetite, till thou hast thy fill, but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. 26. When thou comest into thy neighbour's standing corn, thou mayest pluck the ears with thy hand, but thou shalt not swing a sickle over thy neighbour's standing corn.

DIVORCE. PRIVILEGES OF THE NEWLY MARRIED. PLEDGING
THE HANDMILL. KIDNAPPING. LEPROSY. HIRED LABOURERS.
SETTLERS, THE POOR, WIDOWS AND ORPHANS.

XXIV. 1. When a man takes a wife and marries her, and it happens, if she does not find favour in his eyes, because he has found something disagreeable in her, that he writes her a bill of divorcement² and puts it in her hand and dismisses her from

¹ 'Thou shalt not take interest,' vv. 20-21, are an expansion of Exod. xxii. 24 ('Book of the Covenant') in Deuteronomic language. In ver. 21 the last word should probably be pointed *hiphil*.

² 'A bill of divorcement.' Neither in Deut. nor anywhere else in the Hebrew law do we find a law of divorce. The husband's right to divorce is presupposed as a matter of course. But an attempt is made to mitigate the capricious exercise of the right. A man would think twice about divorcing

his house, 2. and she departs from his house, and goes and belongs to another man, 3. and the second man dislike her, and write her a bill of divorcement and put it in her hand and dismiss her from his house, or if the second man who took her to wife, die, 4. her first husband who dismissed her, may not take her again to be a wife of his, after she has been defiled, for this is an abomination before Yahwè, and thou shalt not bring sin on the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, as a possession.

5. When a man takes a new wife, he shall not go out in the army, and no task shall be put upon him: he shall be free at home one year, that he may rejoice¹ with the wife whom he has taken.

6. No man shall take the handmill or upper millstone in pledge, for this is taking the life in pledge.

7. If a man be found stealing² any of his brethren of the children of Israel and tyrannise over him or sell him, then that thief shall die, and thou shalt exterminate the evil from the midst of thee.

8. Take heed in the plague of leprosy³ to observe carefully

his wife if he knew, that when she married another, she became for ever inaccessible to her first husband. The extraordinary frequency of divorce among the modern Arabs is notorious. 'There are few of middle age who have not had several different wives at different periods tempted to change by the facility of divorce.'—Lane's *Arabian Nights*, ch. iv. note 39. And by the law of Islam a man is at full liberty to take back his wife after she has been married to a second husband, and divorced by him. The ancient versions followed in the Revised English Old Testament pervert the sense of translating, 'It shall be . . . that he shall write her a bill of divorcement.'

¹ 'Rejoice with.' The pointing is that followed by the Vulg. The Massoretic text has 'that he may cheer.'

² 'If a man be found stealing,' etc. Expanded from the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxi. 16. There man-stealing in general is forbidden under the penalty of death, though probably the limitation of the crime to the case of kidnapping an Israelite expressed here was taken for granted there. But see vol. i. of this work, p. 143, note 3.

³ 'The plague of leprosy.' The author refers for the details in the method of treatment to the oral instruction of the priests, which rested ultimately on divine revelation. It is quite possible, and perhaps more likely, that these

and do, according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I have commanded them, you shall observe to do. 9. Remember that which Yahwè thy God did to Miriam, on the way, as you came forth from Egypt.

10. When thou givest thy neighbour the loan of anything, thou shalt not go into his house to take his pledge. 11. Thou shalt stand without, and the man to whom thou lendest shall bring forth the pledge without to thee. 12. And if he be a poor man,¹ thou shalt not sleep with his pledge. 13. Thou shalt be sure to restore his pledge to him at sundown, that he may sleep in his garment and bless thee, and it shall be righteousness for thee before Yahwè thy God.

14. Thou shalt not oppress a hired labourer that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of them that settle with thee in thy land within thy gates. 15. On the same day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it, for he is poor and is longing for it: otherwise he will cry to Yahwè against thee and it shall be a sin in thee.

16. The fathers² shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers: every man shall be put to death for his own sin.

traditional usages were committed to writing. But the fact, if it be a fact, is no proof at all that the elaborate law as given in Lev. xiii. is as old as the time when Deut. was written, much less does it show that the 'Priestly' law as a whole existed then. Dillm. himself admits (iii. 292, 340) that Deut. is partly based on documents unknown to us. The historical reference is, as usual, to the 'Oldest Book' (Num. xii., especially ver. 14).

¹ 'If he be a poor man,' etc. Compare 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxii. 25-26.

² 'The fathers,' etc. The old principle regarded the members of the clan as a unity, and among the Bedouins at this day the blood-revenge may be exacted from any one who is one by kindred with the homicide. Thus the Gibeonites receive satisfaction for Saul's crime by the death of Saul's descendants (2 Sam. xxi. 1-9), and Yahwè himself 'visits the iniquity of the fathers on the children' (Exod. xx. 5). On the other hand, Amaziah (B.C. 796) slew his father's murderers, but spared their children (2 Kings xiv. 5, 6). This more humane method, introduced perhaps by Amaziah, is codified in Deut. By a natural anachronism the editor of the Books of Kings assumes that Amaziah was following the precept in Deut.

17. Thou shalt not wrest the right of the settler or¹ of the orphan nor take the widow's raiment to pledge. 18. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in Egypt and Yahwè thy God redeemed thee thence: therefore do I command thee to do this thing.

19. When thou reapest thy harvest in thy field and forgettest a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it; it shall be for the settler, for the widow and for the orphan, that Yahwè thy God may bless thee in all the work of thy hands. 20. When thou beatest thine olive trees, thou shalt not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the settler, for the orphan and for the widow. 21. When thou cuttest off [the clusters of] thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it after thou hast once done; it shall be for the settler, for the orphan and for the widow. 21. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I command thee to do this thing.

PRECEPTS ON THE PUNISHMENT OF STRIPES. ON MARRIAGE WITH DECEASED BROTHER'S WIFE. ON THE PUNISHMENT OF A SHAMELESS WOMAN. ON MEASURES AND WEIGHTS. THE EXTERMINATION OF THE AMALEKITES.

XXV. 1. If strife arise between men and they come into court and they judge them, recognising the right of the righteous and condemning the wicked, 2. then it shall be that if the wicked deserve beating, that the judge shall have him laid down and beaten in his presence with a number of stripes proportioned to his crime. 3. He may give forty stripes, but no more, lest thy brother seem vile to thee,² should he exceed and beat him above these with many stripes.

¹ 'Or.' Added from LXX.

² 'Seem vile to thee.' The notion of honour as understood among Aryan peoples hardly existed among the Semites. To a Greek or Roman citizen, or to a free-born German any scourging would have been counted dishonour. Here it is only when inflicted with inhuman cruelty that scourging makes a Hebrew appear 'vile.'

4. Thou shalt not muzzle an ox when it is treading out [the corn].

5. If brothers¹ live together and one of them dies without leaving a son, the wife of the dead man shall not marry without to a stranger : her husband's brother shall go into her and take her to himself as wife and do the office of a husband's brother to her. 6. And it shall be that the first-born whom she shall bear, shall be reckoned to his brother who is dead, that his name be not blotted out from Israel. 7. But if the man does not desire to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the gate to the elders and say, My husband's brother has refused to maintain a name for his brother in Israel ; he will not do the office of a husband's brother to me. 8. Then the elders of his city shall summon him and speak to him, and if he stand and say, I do not desire to take her, 9. his brother's wife shall come to him in the presence of the elders and loose his shoe from his foot and spit in his face and answer and say, Thus shall be done to the man who will not build up his brother's house. 10. And his family shall be called in Israel, the family of the unshod.

11. If men strive together one with another, and the wife of the one draws near to deliver her husband out of the hand of

¹ 'If brothers,' etc., 5-10. The duty of raising up seed to a deceased brother was, no doubt, originally founded on the belief that the dead man's spirit would suffer, if he left no son to perform the rites which appeased the spirit, and could only be offered by a male descendant. (See Stade *G. V. I.*, i. p. 394 ; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*, p. 136.) The law was maintained long after the feeling which had originated it was forgotten or remembered only to be denounced by prophets and legislators. The Jahvist in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.) presents the law in the oldest form known to us. There, the duty of raising up seed is one from which the brothers of the deceased have no escape, and failing them, the duty is incumbent on the deceased husband's father (see especially ver. 26). Here the duty is limited to the brothers of the deceased, and they may shift the burden from themselves by undergoing a prescribed ceremony. The spitting in the face by the sister-in-law shows that some opprobrium attached to the person who refused to take his brother's wife. The shoe with which a man steps on the land is the symbol of possession (Ps. lx. 10) ; a man therefore who lets his shoe be taken off, declares that he forgoes his rights.

him that smites him and put forth her hand and lay hold upon him by the secrets, then thou shalt cut off her hand; thine eye shall not pity.

13. Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, great and small. 14. Thou shalt not have in thy house divers measures, a great and small. 15. A full and just weight shalt thou have, a full and just ephah, that thy days may be long on the ground which Yahwè thy God is giving thee. 16. For all that do these things, all that do unrighteously, are an abomination to Yahwè thy God.

17. Remember what Amalek¹ did to thee by the way, as you came forth out of Egypt, 18. how without fear of God, when thou wast weary and faint, he fell on thee by the way and cut off thy rear, all thy feeble ones that followed last. 19. Therefore it shall be that when Yahwè thy God gives thee rest from all thine enemies round about in the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance to possess it, thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under the heavens: forget thou not.

OFFERING OF FIRSTFRUITS.

XXVI. 1. And it shall be when thou shalt come into the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee for an inheritance, and shalt possess it and dwell therein, 2. that thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the ground,² which thou bringest in from thy

¹ 'Amalek.' See the somewhat different account of the Elohist, Exod. xvii. 8-16. Amalek sinned, not against Yahwè, whom he could not know, but against 'God,' *i.e.* against the divine law of hospitality, recognised by the Semites (Gen. xx. 11, xlii. 18). Amalek, when Deut. was written, had been destroyed long ago by Saul and David (1 Sam. xiv. 48, xv. 2 *seq.*—xxvii. 8, xxx. 1 *seq.*). The injunction, however, has a fitting place in a book which is a recapitulation of Mosaic principles, and is besides an indirect protest against tendencies to intercourse with the heathen, which, 'under Ahaz and Manasseh, became disastrously strong.' See Driver's *Introduction to the O. T.*, p. 85.

² 'The first (or, perhaps, best) of all the fruit of the ground.' It seems possible to trace within our present text of Deut. a gradual development in the interests of the priesthood. (1.) In xiv. 22 *seq.*, the vegetable tithes

land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, and shalt put it in a basket, and shalt go to the place which Yahwè thy God shall choose to make his name dwell there. 3. And thou shalt go to the priest that shall be in those days and say to him, I declare this day to Yahwè thy God that I am come to the land of which Yahwè swore to our fathers that he would give it to us. 4. Then the priest shall take the basket from thy hand and set it down before the altar of Yahwè thy God. 5. And thou shalt answer and say before Yahwè thy God, A wandering Aramæan was my father, and he went down into Egypt and was a settler there, having few men, and there he became a nation great, mighty, and numerous. 6. And the Egyptians treated us ill and oppressed us and laid on us hard bondage: 7. and we cried to Yahwè the God of our fathers and he heard our voice and saw our affliction and our toil and our oppression. 8. And Yahwè brought us forth from Egypt with a strong hand and with a stretched out arm and with great terror and with signs and wonders: 9. and brought us to this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. 10. And now, behold, I have brought the first of the fruit of the ground which thou hast given me, O Yahwè: and thou shalt set it down before Yahwè thy God and shalt bow down before Yahwè thy God. 11. And thou shalt rejoice in all the good which Yahwè thy God has given thee; thou¹ and thy household and the Levite and the settler who is in the midst of thee.

are to be consumed with the firstlings of cattle in sacrificial feasts at the temple. The tithe of each third year is to be spent on feasting the Levites and poor people in general. (2.) Here the tithe of the first two years is called 'firstfruits' ראשית, and a basket with this 'first' or 'best' produce is to be placed before Yahwè. (3.) In xviii. 4 the best or first of the new wine and oil as well as of the wool is assigned to the priest. This may be taken as an indication that additions have been made even to the central part of Deut., viz. xii.—xxvi. Whether we can determine precisely what those additions are, is another question. See Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*, p. 461.

¹ 'Thou,' etc. Massoretic text corrected after LXX., and on analogy of xii. 7, xii. 18.

THE TITHE OF THE THIRD YEAR.

12. When thou hast done tithing all the tithe of thy produce in the third year, which is the year of the tithe,¹ then thou shalt give it to the Levite, to the settler, to the orphan and the widow, that they may eat within thy gates and be filled. 13. And thou shalt say before Yahwè thy God,² I have put away the hallowed things out of my house and have also given them to the Levite, to the settler, to the orphan and the widow, according to all thy commandment which thou hast commanded me; I have not transgressed any of thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them. 14. I have not eaten thereof in my mourning or removed it [from the house] when I was unclean, or given any of it to a dead man;³ I have listened to the voice of Yahwè my God; I have done all that thou hast commanded me. 15. Look down from thy holy dwelling, from the heavens, and bless thy people Israel, and the ground which thou hast given us, as thou didst swear to our fathers, a land flowing with milk and honey.

FINAL EXHORTATION.

16. This day Yahwè thy God commands thee to do these

¹ 'The year of the tithe.' For in this section of Deut. the contribution made in the two other years, which form a cycle of three, is not called 'tithe,' but 'firstfruits.'

² 'Before Yahwè thy God,' *i.e.* according to the constant use of Deut. in the temple at Jerusalem (contrast Gen. xxvii. 7). It is strange, however, that no time for this declaration is specified. Perhaps the feast of tabernacles at the close of the year may be the time intended.

³ 'To a dead man.' The practice of feeding the dead has existed among many nations, probably among all at an early stage of their history. This is the only express mention of it among the Israelites. It is, however, implied in Hosea ix. 4, where 'bread of mourners' is treated as polluted and unfit for the altar of Yahwè. See Oort, *Theol. Tijdschr.*, xv. p. 350; Stade, *G.V.I.*, i. p. 389. But no argument can be based on Jer. xvi. 7. Oort, indeed, almost acknowledges this: Stade, on the other hand, writes, 'Jeremiah says in plain words that people eat the bread of sorrow with the dead, and give them the cup to drink.' Even the LXX. text does not justify this confident tone.

statutes and judgments. Therefore thou shalt keep and do them with all thy heart and with all thy soul. 17. Thou hast let it be said of Yahwè [?] that he is to be thy God and that thou wilt go in his ways and keep his statutes and commandments and judgments and wilt listen to his voice. 18. And Yahwè has let it be said of thee [?] this day that thou art to be a people that is his peculiar treasure, as he has promised thee, to keep all his commandments, 19. and that he will set thee high over all nations that he has made, for a praise and a name and an honour, and that thou art to be a holy people to Yahwè thy God, as he promised.

THE COMMAND TO SET UP STONES¹ INSCRIBED WITH THE LAW.
TO BUILD AN ALTAR AND TO OFFER SACRIFICE. TO PRO-
CLAIM THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE.

XXVII. 1. *And Moses and the elders of Israel commanded the*

¹ 'The command to set up stones,' etc., ch. xxvii. The chapter, as a whole, cannot belong to Deuteronomy in its original form. It severs the natural connection between the end of ch. xxvi. and the beginning of ch. xxviii., and considered in itself it consists of five pieces loosely stitched together, and composed of very different material. We have (1) in 1-4, 7^b, 8 an order to erect stones inscribed with 'the words of this law' on Mount Ebal. Even here there is very awkward repetition, vv. 4 and 8 being mere reiteration of 2 and 3, except for the addition of the place, viz. Mount Ebal. (2) 5-7^a, an order to set up an altar and make peace-offerings on Mount Ebal. (3) 9-10, a command from Moses and the Levitical priests to the Israelites. They are to obey the voice of Yahwè, now that they are become his people. (4) 11-13, six tribes, of which Levi is one, are to pronounce the blessing from Mount Gerizim, and six other tribes are to proclaim the curse from Mount Ebal. (5) 14-26, the Levites are to pronounce twelve curses.

With great probability Kuenen (followed by Dillm. iii. p. 364) assigns 9-10 to Deuteronomy in its primary form. They furnish a natural, though not indispensable, link between chapters xxvi. and xxviii. The language is that of Deuteronomy, e.g. 'the priests the Levites,' 'Yahwè thy God,' 'which I command thee this day.' We have, certainly, two expressions not found elsewhere in Deut., viz. חסכה and נהיה followed by ל.

In 5-7^a we have an element much older than Deut. The author who wrote Deut. xii. 5 cannot have on his own initiative recommended an altar and sacrifice on Mount Ebal. Much is to be said for the theory of Dillm., Cornill, and others, that we have here a fragment of the Elohist. The directions

people, saying, Keep all the commandment which I command you this day. 2. And it shall be on the day that you cross the Jordan to the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones and plaster them with cement. 3. And thou shalt write on them all the words of this law, as soon as thou art passed over, that thou mayest go into the land which

about the altar closely correspond in idea and phraseology to those of the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xx. 25. Shechem, which lay in the valley between Ebal and Gerizim, was an ancient and celebrated shrine. Abraham built an altar there (Gen. xii. 6-7). 'The terebinth which is by Shechem' is mentioned by the Elohist in the history of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 4): there, according to the same author, Joshua bade solemn farewell to the people, ~~and~~ set up a stone 'under the terebinth that was in the sanctuary of Yahwè' (Josh. xxiv. 26).

A writer of the Deuteronomical school encased this fragment of ancient literature in a command to set up stones inscribed with the law in the very midst of Canaan. Hence we have 1-8 in its present shape. Another author also writing in the style and spirit of Deuteronomy added in 11-13 the directions to bless and curse. This section is founded on xi. 29-30, where the Israelites are directed to 'put the blessing on Mount Gerizim, and the curse on Mount Ebal.' The meaning seems to be that the one mount was to be taken as a type or embodiment of the curse, the other of the blessing. The reason of selection probably was, that a man facing east (as a Semite always did in fixing directions) had Mount Gerizim on the right (*i.e.* the lucky side: see *e.g.* Gen. xxxv. 18), and Mount Ebal on the left. So the original author of Deuteronomy. A later writer in his school misunderstood his words, and took them to mean that the blessing was to be proclaimed on Mount Gerizim, the curse on Mount Ebal.

Lastly, in 14-26, a still later writer, not of the Deuteronomical school, described the Levites who were, according to 11-13, to bless, as pronouncing twelve curses. The style of this section is modern; thus, the liturgical use of 'Amen' only occurs in post-exilic literature in 1 Chron. xvi. 36; Nehem. v. 13, viii. 6; in the doxologies which close the first, second, third, and fourth books of Psalms, in the 'Priestly' law, Num. v. 22. The prohibitions are taken from the whole Pentateuch, but chiefly from Lev. xviii.—xx., compare ver. 15 with Exod. xx. 4 *seq.*; ver. 16 with Exod. xx. 12 *seq.*, Lev. xix. 3, xx. 9; ver. 17 with Deut. xix. 14; ver. 18 with Lev. xix. 14; ver. 19 with Deut. xxiv. 17; ver. 20 with Lev. xviii. 8; ver. 21 with Lev. xviii. 23; ver. 22 with Lev. xviii. 9; ver. 23 with Lev. xviii. 17, xx. 14; ver. 24 with Exod. xx. 13, Lev. xxiv. 17; ver. 25 with Exod. xxiii. 7-8, Deut. xix. 13, Lev. xix. 16.

The criticism of the chapter is discussed in all modern commentaries and introductions to the O.T., and with admirable lucidity and fulness by Kuenen, *Theol. Tijdscher.*, xii. p. 297 *seq.*

Yahwè thy God is giving thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, as Yahwè the God of thy fathers promised thee. 4. And it shall be, as soon as you cross the Jordan, that you shall set up these stones, as I command you this day, on Mount Ebal; and thou shalt plaster them with cement.

E 5. And thou shalt build there an altar to Yahwè thy God, an altar of stones, on which thou shalt lift up no iron tool. 6. Of unhewn stones shalt thou build the altar of Yahwè thy God and shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon to Yahwè thy God. 7. And thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, E

and thou shalt rejoice before Yahwè thy God. 8. And thou shalt write on the stones all the words of this law clearly and carefully.

9. Then Moses and the priests the Levites spoke to all Israel, saying, Be still and hear, O Israel; this day thou art become the people of Yahwè thy God. 10. Thou shalt therefore obey the voice of Yahwè thy God and shalt do his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day.

11. On the same day Moses charged the people, saying, 12. These shall stand to bless the people on Mount Gerizim, when you cross the Jordan, Simeon and Levi and Judah and Issachar and Joseph and Benjamin. 13. And these shall stand for the curse on Mount Ebal, Reuben, Gad and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan and Naphtali. 14. And the Levites shall answer and say to all the men of Israel with a loud voice:

15. Cursed is the man that makes a graven or molten image, an abomination to Yahwè, the work of the hands of the artificer and sets it up in secret. And all the people shall answer and say, So be it.

16. Cursed is he that dishonours his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, So be it.

17. Cursed is he that removes his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say, So be it.

18. Cursed is he that misleads a blind man on the way. And all the people shall say, So be it.

19. Cursed is he that perverts the cause of the settler, the orphan, or the widow. And all the people shall say, So be it.

20. Cursed is he that lies with his father's wife, since he has lifted up his father's skirt. And all the people shall say, So be it.

21. Cursed is he that lies with any kind of beast. And all the people shall say, So be it.

22. Cursed is he that lies with his sister, whether the daughter of his father or his mother. And all the people shall say, So be it.

23. Cursed is he that lies with his mother-in-law. And all the people shall say, So be it.

24. Cursed is he that smites his neighbour in secret. And all the people shall say, So be it.

25. Cursed is he that takes a bribe to shed by murder the blood of an innocent person. And all the people shall say, So be it.

26. Cursed is he that confirms not the words of this law to do them. And all the people shall say, So be it.

PROMISES AND THREATS.¹

XXVIII. 1. And it shall come to pass, if thou wilt listen

¹ 'Promises and Threats,' ch. xxviii. 1-68. A large number of critics, Wellh., Cornill, etc., regard the chapter as an addition to Deuteronomy by a later hand. The authenticity, as a whole, is maintained by others, notably by Kuenen and Dillmann.

It seems very unlikely that the book ended without promises and threats. The case may be stated in the following words of Holzinger who himself denies the primary character of the chapter, as it stands. 'Wellhausen and Cornill,' he says, 'admit that we should expect a suitable conclusion following ch. xxvi. in the original book.' He refers, as Dillm. has done, to the analogy supplied by the 'Book of the Covenant,' which closes with promises and threats (Holzinger, *Einleit.*, vol. i. pp. 274, 275).

This being so, the chapter before us may be well regarded as the natural conclusion of the law. The fact that the law is assumed to be already written (vv. 58-61) is one which we have often considered before, and have been unable to accept as by any means decisive. Again, 'Nobody,' says Kuenen (*Onderz.*, i. 1. § 7, 21), 'can doubt that the turns of Deuteronomical

diligently to the voice of Yahwè thy God, to observe to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that Yahwè thy God shall set thee high over all the nations of the earth. 2. And all these blessings shall come upon thee and overtake thee, if thou wilt listen to the voice of Yahwè thy God. 3. Blessed art thou in the city and blessed art thou in the field. 4. Blessed is the fruit of thy body and of thy ground, **and the fruit of thy cattle,**¹ the increase of thy kine, and the young of thy flock.² 5. Blessed is thy basket and thy kneading-trough. 6. Blessed art thou when thou comest in and blessed art thou when thou goest out. 7. Yahwè will cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face; by one way shall they come forth against thee and by seven ways shall they flee from before thee. 8. Yahwè will command the blessing upon thee in thy barns and all that to which thou puttest forth thy

expression from the web and woof of the discourse.' The author anticipates the exile, and sometimes, carried away by his rhetoric, speaks of it as if it had already come (ver. 45 *seq.*); moreover the words 'in all thy land' (ver. 52) show that the exile which he has in his mind includes that of Judah. But an author who had actually lived through the exile, or who lived after it, would scarcely have threatened the people of Judah with deportation by ship to Egypt, while he was silent about Babylon (ver. 68). It is also significant that he does not address a single word of comfort or counsel to the exiles. He thought that the end might be near, and clearly anticipated it in case of disobedience. This, however, needed no great effort of imagination on the part of one who lived under Josiah.

Nevertheless, the chapter contains clear signs of interpolation. The threats of exile in vv. 36-37, and again in 41, interrupt the connection which can be restored by the omission of the verses in question. Notice also the use of יהוה in ver. 41 as in iv. 25. The word is frequent in the 'Priestly Writer,' but is foreign to Deuteronomy. The mention of 'this great and terrible name,' viz. that of Yahwè, recalls the style and thought of the 'Priestly Writer' (*e.g.* in Lev. xxiv. 11). It is highly probable that these are not the only interpolations. But it is not possible to make a complete severance of the original matter from later accretions, and we must be content to determine the general character of the chapter as a part of Deuteronomy.

¹ 'Fruit of thy cattle.' The words are omitted in the LXX., and are probably an interpolation from ver. 11. The Sam. inserts them also in ver. 18 where they are absent from the Massoretic text.

² 'Young of thy flock.' See note on vii. 13.

hand, and will bless thee in the land which Yahwè thy God is giving thee. 9. Yahwè will establish thee as a holy people for himself, as he swore to thee, if thou wilt keep the commandments of Yahwè thy God and walk in his ways, 10. that all the peoples of the earth may see, that thou art called by Yahwè's name and may be afraid of thee. 11. And Yahwè will make thee overflow with good in the fruit of thy body and in the fruit of thy cattle and in the fruit of thy ground, on the ground which Yahwè swore to thy fathers to give thee. 12. Yahwè will open for thee his goodly treasure, the heavens to give rain in its season for thy land, to bless all the work of thy hand,¹ so that thou shalt lend to many nations but shalt not borrow. 13. Thus will Yahwè make thee the head, and not the tail, and thou shalt be ever rising higher and never falling lower, if thou wilt listen to the commandments of Yahwè thy God which I command thee this day to keep and to do, 14. and departest not from all the words which I command you this day towards the right or left, to go after other gods to serve them.

15. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not listen to the voice of Yahwè thy God to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day, then all these curses shall come upon thee and overtake thee. 16. Cursed art thou in the city and cursed in the field. 17. Cursed is thy basket and thy kneading-trough. 18. Cursed is the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy ground, the increase of thy kine and the young of thy flock. 19. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. 20. Yahwè shall send against thee the curse, the confusion and the rebuke in all the work to which thou puttest thine hand, until thou art destroyed and dost perish quickly, because of the evil of thy doings, in that thou hast forsaken me. 21. Yahwè shall make the pestilence cleave to thee, till he consume thee from

¹ 'To bless all the work of thy hand.' So LXX. The Massoretic text has 'and to bless,' etc. But the blessing consists in the rain, and is not an addition to it.

off the ground, whither thou goest in to possess it. 22. Yahwè shall smite thee with consumption, and with fever and with inflammation and with fiery heat and with drought,¹ and with blasting and with mildew, and they shall pursue thee, until thou perish. 23. And thy heavens that are over thy head shall be brass and the earth which is under thee shall be iron. 24. Yahwè will turn the rain of thy land into powder and dust; from the heavens will it come down upon thee, till thou art destroyed.

25. Yahwè will cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies; thou shalt go out one way against them and shalt flee seven ways before them, so that thou shalt become a frightful sight to all the kingdoms of the earth. 26. And thy carcase shall be meat to all birds of the heavens and to the beasts of the earth, and there shall be none to frighten them away. 27. Yahwè will smite thee with the Egyptian boil and with plague-blisters, and with the scurvy and the itch of which thou canst not be healed. 28. Yahwè will smite thee with madness and with blindness and with craziness of mind. 29. And thou shalt grope in noonday as the blind gropes in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways, and thou shalt never be anything but oppressed and spoiled, with none to save. 30. Thou shalt betroth a wife and another man will lie with her: thou shalt build a house and shalt not dwell in it; thou shalt plant a vineyard and shalt not take the fruit for use. 31. Thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat of it: thine ass shall be seized by violence from before thy face, and shall not be restored to thee: thy sheep shall be given to thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to save. 32. Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given to another people, and thine eyes shall see and fail with longing for them all the day, and thy hand shall have no power. 33. The fruit of thy ground and all thy labour shall a people which thou hast not known eat up,

¹ 'Drought.' The translation requires a correction in the Massoretic pointing, which is supported by the Latin Vulgate.

and thou shalt never be anything but oppressed and broken. 34. Then thou shalt be driven mad by the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see. 35. Yahwè will smite thee with malignant boils on the knees and on the legs, of which thou canst not be cured from the sole of thy foot to the crown of thy head. 36. *Yahwè will bring thee and thy king whom thou shalt set over thee, to a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, and thou shalt serve other gods there, wood and stone.* 37. *And thou shalt become a horror, a proverb, and a byword, among all the peoples whither Yahwè thy God will lead thee.*

38. Much seed shalt thou carry out into the field and little shalt thou gather in, for the locust shall consume it. 39. Vineyards shalt thou plant and till, but wine thou shalt not drink or store, for the worm shall devour it. 40. Thou shalt have olive trees throughout all thy territory, but thou shalt not anoint thyself with the oil, for thine olives will fall off. 41. *Sons and daughters wilt thou beget, but they shall not be thine, for they shall go into captivity.* 42. All thy trees and the fruit of thy ground shall the chirping vermin possess. 43. The settler that is in the midst of thee shall rise above thee higher and higher, and thou shalt come down lower and lower. 44. He will lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him : he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail.

45. And all these curses shall come upon thee and pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou art destroyed, because thou hast not listened to the voice of Yahwè thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee. 46. And they shall be as a sign and marvel on thee and thy seed for ever.

47. Because thou hast not served Yahwè thy God, seeing that thou hadst abundance of everything, with joy and with gladness of heart, 48. therefore thou shalt serve thine enemies, whom Yahwè shall send against thee in hunger and thirst and nakedness and want of everything, and he will put a yoke of iron on thy neck, till he destroy thee. 49. Yahwè will bring upon thee

from afar from the end of the earth a nation flying like an eagle, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand, 50. a nation of fierce countenance which will not regard the person of the old, or show favour to the young. 51. And he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle and the fruit of thy ground,¹ so that he will not leave thee corn or new wine and oil, the increase of thy kine or the young of thy flock, till he have caused thee to perish. 52. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, till thy high and fenced walls in which thou dost trust come down in all thy land, and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land which Yahwè thy God has given thee. 53. And in the siege and pressure wherewith thine enemies shall press upon thee, thou shalt eat the fruit of thy body, thy sons and daughters whom Yahwè thy God has given thee. 54. The man that is tender among you and pampered exceedingly,—his eye shall be evil towards his brother and the wife of his bosom, and the remnant of his children whom he has over; 55. so that he will not give to any of them part of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat, because he has left nothing [else] for himself, in the siege and pressure wherewith thine enemy shall press upon thee in all thy gates. 56. The tender and pampered woman among you, who would not venture to set the sole of her foot on the earth, so pampered was she and so tender,—her eyes shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom and her son and daughter, 57. and against her after-birth that comes out between her feet and her children whom she shall bear, for she shall eat them secretly from utter want, in siege and pressure wherewith thine enemy will press upon thee in thy gates.

58. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this teaching that are written in this book, to fear this great and terrible name, Yahwè thy God; 59. then Yahwè will bring on thee and thy seed wonderful plagues, plagues great and of long

¹ 'Fruit of thy ground.' The Massoretic text adds 'till thou art destroyed.' The words are wanting in the LXX., and make the last words of the verse an almost intolerable repetition.

continuance, sicknesses sore and of long continuance. 60. And he will bring back on thee all the diseases of Egypt, which thou didst hold in horror, and they shall cleave to thee. 61. Also every sickness and every plague which is not written in the book of this law will Yahwè being on thee, till thou art destroyed 62. And you shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of the heaven for multitude, since thou hast not listened to the voice of Yahwè thy God. 63. And it shall be, that as Yahwè rejoiced over you to do you good and to multiply you, so Yahwè will rejoice over you to cause you to perish and to destroy you, and you shall be plucked from off the ground, whither thou goest in to possess it. 64. And Yahwè will scatter thee among all nations from one end of the earth to the other, and there thou shalt serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, wood and stone. 65. And among these nations thou shalt find no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot, and Yahwè will give thee there a trembling heart and failing of eyes and pining of soul. 66. And thy life shall hang before thee [as on a thread], and thou shalt be in fear night and day and shalt have no trust in thy life. 67. In the morning thou shalt say, Would it were evening, and in the evening thou shalt say, Would it were morning, because of the fear which thou shalt feel in thy heart and the vision which thou shalt see with thine eyes. 68. And Yahwè will bring thee again into Egypt with ships, by the way of which I said to thee, Thou shalt see it no more again, and there shall you let yourselves be sold as men and women slaves, but no one will buy you.

69. *These are the words¹ of the covenant which Yahwè com-*

¹ 'These are the words,' etc. Probably, this verse is intended as a superscription to chs. xxix. and xxx., in which Moses renews the divine covenant with the people (see xxix. 8, 11, 13, 20). The language alone proves that the verse comes from a hand later than that of the original Deuteronomist. The expression 'children of Israel' as a designation of the people collectively, though common in the 'Priestly Writer,' does not occur once in Deut. v.—xxvi.—xxviii. (In xxiii. 18, xxiv. 7 the reference is to individual

manded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, besides the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.

XXIX. 1. *And Moses called¹ to all Israel and said to them, You have seen all that Yahwè did before your eyes in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, 2. the great trials which your eyes have seen, the signs and those great marvels; but Yahwè has not given you a heart to know or eyes to see or ears to hear, to this day. 4. And I led you forty years in the wilderness; your clothes did not fall away upon you, neither did thy shoe fall away from off thy foot. 5. Bread you did not eat, neither did you drink wine or strong drink, that you might know that I am Yahwè your God. 6. And*

Israelites.) The Hebrew word here translated 'besides' is also very common in the 'Priestly Writer' (and elsewhere occurs chiefly in very late literature, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chron., Daniel). It is unknown in Deut. except in iv. 35, and that verse occurs in a section shown elsewhere to be much later than the body of the book.

¹ 'And Moses called,' etc., chs. xxix., xxx. 'This long speech of Moses,' says Dillm., 'undoubtedly has been put into its present form by an editor.' This is the very smallest admission which an examination of the chapters requires. Not only does the author take the fact of the exile for granted, but he sets himself to comfort the exiles with the sure hope of restoration, if they repent (xxx. 1-10). There is not a word to indicate that he had the exile and restoration of the northern tribes in view. He addresses the whole people, *i.e.* all of them that were left when he wrote, *viz.* the members of the former kingdom of Judah. The original author of Deuteronomy could not have written thus. It is credible that he thought the exile a possible or even a likely event. But he would have endeavoured to avert it by exhorting the people to obey the law. He would not have weakened the force of his admonitions by pointing out that after the exile the people had still another chance. This argument rises to demonstration when we look closely into the style and language. We find a number of single words or phrases which occur nowhere else in Deut., and this, although the ideas which they express are quite familiar under other forms. Thus in xxix. 16 the description of the idols as 'hateful things,' in xxix. 18 the phrase 'stubbornness of heart,' in xxix. 20 the expression 'for evil,' in xxix. 27 the Hebrew verb translated 'rooted out,' though common in Jeremiah, are not found elsewhere in Deut. So again the phrase in xxix. 5, 'That you may know that I am Yahwè your God' is common to the 'Priestly Writer' and Ezekiel, but not to the rest of Deut. Nor do we find elsewhere in Deut. the phrase to 'pass into the covenant,' as in xxix. 11, or פָּדוֹן 'to pardon,' as in xxix. 19.

when you came to this place, Sihon the king of Heshbon and Og the king of Bashan went out to meet you in battle, and we smote them. 7. And we took their land and gave it, as an inheritance, to the Reubenites and the Gadites and to the half tribe of the Manassites. 8. Keep therefore the words of this covenant and do them, that you may deal wisely in all you do.

9. You stand this day all of you before Yahwè your God, your heads, your judges,¹ your elders, and your officers, all the men of Israel, 10. your little ones, your wives, and thy settler that is in the midst of thy camp from the hewer of wood to the drawer of water, 11. that thou mayest pass into the covenant of Yahwè thy God and into his oath, which Yahwè thy God makes with thee this day, 12. to establish thee this day as a people for himself and that he may be a God for thee, as he promised thee, and as he swore to thy fathers, to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. 13. Nor with you alone do I make this covenant and this oath, 14. but with him that stands here with us this day before Yahwè our God, and with him that is not here this day.

15. For you yourselves know how we dwelt in the land of Egypt and how we passed through the nations through which you did pass. 16. And you saw their hateful things and idols, wood and stone, silver and gold, which are found among them. 17. May there be among you no man or woman, clan or tribe whose heart turns this day from Yahwè our God, to go and serve the gods of these nations! May there be among you no root, bearing poison and wormwood! 18. That so, when a man hears the words of this compact by oath, he should promise himself happiness in his heart, saying, I shall be safe, though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart: that would sweep away [all together] the drenched with the dry. 19. Yahwè will not pardon him: yea, then the anger and jealousy of Yahwè shall smoke against that man, and all the curse that is written in this book shall lie upon him, and Yahwè

¹ 'Your judges.' The Massoretic reading 'your tribes' cannot be correct. The emendation proposed by Dillm. followed in the text requires a very slight alteration, and has some support in the LXX.

shall blot out his name from under the heavens. 20. *Yahwè will separate him for evil from all the tribes of Israel according to all the curses of the covenant that is written in this book of the law.* 21. *And the generation to come, your sons who shall arise after you, and the foreigner that shall come from a far land, shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses wherewith Yahwè has afflicted it, 22. that its whole land is brimstone and salt, a burning waste, that it is not sown, neither bears, nor does any herb grow upon it, that it is overthrown like Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, which Yahwè overthrew in his anger and in his wrath. 23. Yea, all nations shall say, Why has Yahwè done thus to this land? What means the heat of this great anger? 24. And they shall say, Because they forsook the covenant of Yahwè their fathers' God, which he made with them, when he brought them forth from the land of Egypt, 25. and went and served other gods and bowed down to them, gods whom they did not know and whom he did not allot to them; 26. therefore the anger of Yahwè was kindled against this land, to bring upon it all the curse that is written in this book. 27. And Yahwè rooted them out of their land in anger and wrath and great indignation, and cast them into another land, as at this day.*

28. *The hidden [future] belongs to Yahwè our God, but the things that are manifest, to us and to our sons for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.*

XXX. 1. *It shall be, when all these things come upon thee, the blessing and the curse¹ which I have set before thee, and thou takest it to heart among all the nations, whither Yahwè thy God has driven thee, 2. and returnest to Yahwè thy God and dost listen to his voice, according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy sons, with all thy heart and with all thy soul, 3. that then Yahwè thy God will restore thy fortune and have pity on thee, and will gather thee again from all the peoples whither*

¹ 'The blessing and the curse.' Clearly an interpolation, intended to connect chs. xxix., xxx., with xxviii.

Yahwè thy God has scattered thee. 4. If thine outcasts be at the end of the heavens, thence will Yahwè thy God gather thee and thence will he take thee. 5. And Yahwè thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, that thou mayest possess it, and he will do thee good and will multiply thee above thy fathers. 6. And Yahwè thy God will circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy seed, to love Yahwè thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul for thy life's sake. 7. And Yahwè thy God will put all these curses on thine enemies and on thy foes, that have pursued thee. 8. But thou shalt again listen to the voice of Yahwè and shalt do all his commandments, which I command thee this day. 9. And Yahwè thy God will enrich thee with good in all the work of thy hands, in the fruit of thy body and in the fruit of thy cattle and in the fruit of thy ground, since once more Yahwè will rejoice over thee for good, as he rejoiced over thy fathers, 10. if thou wilt listen to the voice of Yahwè thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes that are written in the book of this law, if thou turn to Yahwè thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul.

11. For this commandment which I command thee this day, is not too hard for thee and is not far off. 12. It is not in the heavens, that thou shouldst say, Who will go up for us to the heavens and take it for us and make us hear it, that we may do it? 13. Neither is it beyond the sea that thou shouldst say, Who will go over the sea for us, and bring it to us, and make us hear it, that we may do it? 14. But the word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

15. See, I have set before thee this day life and good, death and evil. 16. If thou wilt listen to the commandments of Yahwè thy God,¹ which I command thee this day, to love Yahwè thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgments, then shalt thou live and multiply, and Yahwè thy God will bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it.

¹ 'If thou wilt listen to the commandments,' added from LXX., and required by the grammatical construction.

17. *But if thy heart turn away and thou wilt not hear, but art drawn away and dost worship other gods and dost serve them,*
 18. *I announce to you this day, that you shall surely perish; you shall not prolong your days on the ground, to go in whither to possess it thou art passing over Jordan.* 19. *I call the heavens and the earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore choose life that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed,* 20. *to love Yahwè thy God, to listen to his voice and to cleave to him, for that is thy life and length of thy days, that thou mayest dwell on the ground which Yahwè swore to thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob to give them.*

APPOINTMENT OF JOSHUA. MOSES WRITES DOWN THE LAW AND
 COMMITS IT TO THE LEVITES, WITH ORDERS FOR ITS PUBLIC
 RECITATION.

XXXI. 1. *And Moses went¹ and spoke these words to all Israel.* 2. *And he said to them, I am a hundred and twenty years old this day, I am not able any more to go out and come in: and Yahwè has said to me, Thou shalt not cross this Jordan.* 3. *It is Yahwè thy God who crosses before thee: it is he who will destroy these nations from before thee, so that thou shalt dispossess them. It is Joshua who crosses before thee, as Yahwè has ordered.* 4. *And Yahwè shall do to them, as he did to Sihon and to Og, kings of the Amorites, and to their land; whom he destroyed.* 5. *And Yahwè will deliver them up before you, and*

¹ 'And Moses went,' etc., xxxi. 1-8. The section cannot be accepted as an original part of Deut. by any, who, for reasons given above, regard i.—iv. as a later addition to the book. For here ver. 2 presupposes iii. 27, ver. 3^b iii. 28. It is founded on the older narrative given in vol. i. of this work, p. 187 (Deut. xxxi. 14-23), just as Deut. i.—iv. is founded on the narrative of the 'Oldest Book' in Exodus and Numbers. Further, the section before us, small as it is, shows remarkable resemblances of language and style to Deut. i.—iv. Comp. 'Be strong and valiant,' vv. 6 and 7, with iii. 28, 'He will not fail thee,' with iv. 31, 'Fear not, neither be dismayed,' with i. 21. Kuenen with great probability supposes that this section came from the same hand which wrote i.—iv.

you shall do to them according to all the commandment which I commanded you. 6. Be strong and valiant; fear not and be not afraid of them, for it is Yahwè thy God who goes with thee; he will not fail thee or forsake thee.

7. And Moses called Joshua and said to him in the sight of all Israel, Be strong and valiant, for thou shalt bring¹ this people to the land which Yahwè swore to their fathers to give them and thou shalt allot it to them. 8. And it is Yahwè who goes before thee: he will be with thee: he will not fail thee or forsake thee: fear not, neither be dismayed.

9. And Moses wrote this teaching² and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who were to bear the ark of the covenant of Yahwè, and to all the elders of Israel. 10. And Moses commanded them, saying, At the end of [every] seven years, at the time of the year of release, at the feast of tabernacles, 11. when all Israel comes to see³ the face of Yahwè thy God in the place which he shall choose, you shall read this teaching before all Israel in their ears. 12. Assemble the people, the men and the women and the little ones, and him that has settled with thee within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and that they may fear Yahwè your God, and may

¹ 'Thou shalt bring.' So Sam., Pesh., Vulg.

² 'And Moses wrote this teaching,' xxxi. 9-13. Kuenen with great probability assigns this section to Deut. in its primary form. It was not enough to introduce the law by a title stating the time and place at which it was proclaimed by Moses. Some notice was required of the fact that Moses committed the law to writing, and provided for the preservation of the manuscript copy. This end is fulfilled in the section before us, and Kuenen has proved that its language exactly agrees with that employed in the original kernel of Deut. Kuenen's theory is accepted by Dillm. and Albers (*Quellenberichte in Jos.*, i.—xii., p. 22 *seq.*).

³ 'Comes to see.' This translation involves the correction of the Massoretic pointing in one word. The traditional pointing seems to have arisen from literal adherence to the view (Exod. xxxiii. 20), that no man can see the face of Yahwè and live. Comp. Exod. xxiii. 15 and Isa. i. 12 where the traditional pointing has been introduced to the clear injury of the grammar. To 'see the face of God' meant in early times to see his dwelling-place. To David the vision of God meant the sight of the ark (2 Sam. xv. 25).

observe to do all the words of this teaching. 13. And your children who have not known, shall hear and learn to fear Yahwè your God, all the days that you live on the ground whither you cross the Jordan to possess it.

24. And it came to pass,¹ when Moses had written to the very end the words of this teaching in a book, 25. that Moses commanded the Levites that were to bear the ark of the covenant of Yahwè, saying, 26. Take this book of the teaching and place it by the side of the ark of the covenant of Yahwè your God, *that it may be there for a witness against thee.* 27. *For I know thy rebelliousness and thy stiff neck: behold, while I am yet alive with you this day, you have rebelled against Yahwè; how much more after my death!* 28. *Assemble to me all the elders of your tribes and your officers, that I may speak these words in their ears, and call to witness against them the heavens and the earth.* 29. *For I know that after my death you will do most corruptly and will turn aside from the way which I commanded you; and evil will befall you in the after days, because you do that which is evil in the eyes of Yahwè, to provoke him with the work of your hands.*

XXXII. 45. *Now when Moses had finished speaking all these words to all Israel,* 46. *he said to them, Set your heart to all the words which I testify to you this day, that you may lay them as a command upon your children, that they shall observe to do all the words of this law.* 47. *For this is no matter of light moment for you, but it is your life, and through this thing you shall pro-*

¹ 'And it came to pass,' etc., xxxi. 24-29. The language is that common to writers of the Deuteronomical school. But the section must have been added after Deuteronomy was already united to the 'Oldest Book.' The proof of this is that ver. 28 refers to the 'Song of Moses' (see vol. i. p. 188 *seq.*). It is, however, possible that Dillm. may be right in thinking that the editor who united Deut. with the 'Oldest Book' did not compose this section out of his own head, but used as his foundation words which belonged to the primary book of Deut. We may at least have a fragment of the original Deut. in vv. 24-26^a. The verses which follow from chapters xxxii. and xxxiv. are also attributed by Kuenen to the hand which united Deut. with the 'Oldest Book' in the text of which they are now imbedded.

long your days on the ground whither you are crossing the Jordan to possess it.

XXXIV. 1. [And Moses went up to the top of Pisgah] *that is over against Jericho.* 5. [So Moses] *the servant of Yahwè [died there] in the land of Moab.* 6. *And they buried him¹ in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor, but no man knows his grave to this day.*

10. *Now there has not arisen a prophet any more in Israel like Moses, whom Yahwè knew face to face,* 11. *with respect to all the signs and the wonders which Yahwè sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants and to all his land,* 12. *and with respect to all the mighty strength and awful power which Moses displayed in the sight of all Israel.*

ADDITIONS MADE TO THE 'OLDEST BOOK OF HEBREW HISTORY' (i.e. JAHVIST AND ELOHIST) BY DEUTERONOMICAL WRITERS.

FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD AND OF PASSOVER. CONSECRATION OF FIRSTBORN.²

Exod. xii. 21. *Then Moses called to all the elders of Israel and*

¹ Dr. Driver's translation 'he,' i.e. Yahwè, 'buried him,' is of course possible grammatically, and has been widely adopted in ancient and modern times (e.g. by Stade, *G. V. L.*, vol. i. p. 453), but Dillm., not unreasonably, objects to making the Deuteronomist responsible for this anthropomorphism. The fact that the grave of Moses was unknown confirms the belief that he was an historical character. The Deuteronomist, in his notice of it, may have desired to separate the founder of the higher religion from all contact with the old ancestral worship.

² 'Feast of Unleavened Bread and of Passover. Consecration of Firstborn.' It is generally admitted, and is indeed evident, that the two following laws are of similar origin, and also that they are not from P. It is more difficult to say from what other source they come. Dillm., Driver, Budde (*Z. A. W.*, 1891, p. 193 *seq.*) attribute them to the Jahvist. Most critics, on the other hand, consider them to be of secondary date and Deuteronomical (Jülicher, Cornill, Socin in Kautzsch's Bible—though he is doubtful about Exod. xii. 21-27—Benzinger), or at least as allied in date and character to the work of

said to them: Go forth and take you sheep for your clans and slay the Passover. 22. And you shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip it in the blood which is in the basin and strike the lintel and the two posts with the blood which is in the basin: but as for you, none of you shall go out of the door of his house till the morning. 23. And when Yahwè passes through to smite the Egyptians and he shall see the blood on the lintel and the two posts, Yahwè will pass over the door and will not let the destroyer enter your dwellings to smite. 24. And you shall keep this ordinance as a perpetual statute for thee and thy children. 25. And it shall be that when you enter the land which Yahwè will give you, as he promised, that you shall observe this service. 26. And it shall be that when your sons say to you, What means this service of yours? 27. You shall say, It is a sacrifice of Passover to Yahwè who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when he smote the Egyptians, but our houses he delivered. So the people inclined themselves and bowed down.

XIII. 3. *Then Moses said to the people, Remember this day on which you have gone forth from Egypt from the house*

the Deuteronomical school (Wellh., Kuen.) Moreover, Budde admits that the substratum which comes from the Jahvist has been overlaid with Deuteronomical matter. The language seems to be Deuteronomical. Thus *שֶׁנֶר*, the young or brood of animals, only occurs here and Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 4, 18, 51. Then there are other phrases which are characteristic of Deut., or which reflect Deuteronomical influence. Such are 'mighty hand,' 'sware,' or 'promised with an oath to thy fathers,' 'house of bondage,' 'remember,' with respect to past experience of Jehovah's dealing with his people, *עָבַד*, 'of religious service,' etc.

Notice that here Pesach or Passover, the feast, celebrated possibly even when Israel led a nomadic life, in which the firstlings of the flock were offered, is connected with the agricultural feast of unleavened bread, in which an offering of the new grain in its natural state was made to Jehovah. Again, not only is the Pesach brought into historical connection with the Exodus, but the ancient rite of lustration with the sacrificial blood is said to have been the cause which induced Jehovah to spare the Hebrew firstborn. In the older narrative the feast did not arise from the Exodus, but rather the Exodus from the feast. 'Thus says Yahwè, Let my people go that they may keep a feast to me in the wilderness.' See vol. i., Exod. v. 1, 8, 21 *seq.*, x. 8 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*

of bondage, since with strength of hand Yahwè has brought you out thence; therefore nothing leavened shall be eaten. 4. This day you are going forth in the month of Abib: 5. and it shall be when Yahwè shall bring thee to the land of the Canaanite and Hittite and Amorite and Hivite and Jebusite which he promised with an oath to thy fathers that he would give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, thou shalt hold this service in this month. 6. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread and on the seventh day there shall be a feast to Yahwè. 7. Unleavened bread shall be eaten the seven days, and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy borders. 8. And thou shalt tell thy son in that day, saying, *Because of that which*¹ [?] *Yahwè did for me in my coming forth from Egypt.* 9. And it shall be for thee as a sign in thy hand and a memorial on thy forehead, that the teaching of Yahwè may be [ever] in thy mouth, since with a strong hand Yahwè has brought thee out of Egypt. 10. So thou shalt keep this statute at its appointed time from year to year.

11. And it shall be, when Yahwè brings thee into the land of the Canaanite as he promised by oath to thee and thy fathers and gives it to thee, 12. that thou shalt consecrate to Yahwè all that first breaks through the womb and all firstborn that thou hast, cast by beasts, shall, if they be male, belong to Yahwè. 13. And every firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb or if thou wilt not redeem it, thou shalt break its neck. But all the firstborn of man thou shalt redeem. 14. And if thy son ask thee in time to come, saying, *What doth this mean?* thou shalt say to him, *With strength of hand Yahwè brought us forth from Egypt from the house of bondage.* 15. And it came to pass, when Pharaoh obstinately refused to let us go, that Yahwè slew all firstborn in the land of Egypt from the firstborn of man to the firstborn of cattle. Therefore I sacrifice to Yahwè all that opens the womb, if males, but

¹ 'Because of that which.' This construction cannot be justified by the usage of Hebrew prose, and the text is, no doubt, corrupt.

all firstborn of my sons I redeem. 16. And it shall be for a sign in thy hand and for frontlets on thy forehead, because with strength of hand Yahwè led us forth from Egypt.

DEUTERONOMICAL ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

THE ORDER TO CROSS JORDAN.¹

JOSH. i. 3. *Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, to you have I given it, as I promised to Moses.* 4. *From the wilderness and Lebanon there, even to the great river, the river Euphrates,² and to the great sea towards the going down of the sun, shall be your territory.* 5. *No man shall stand against*

¹ The order to cross Jordan, ch. i. The Deuteronomical editor or editors have expanded the narrative, which they adopted from the 'Oldest Book.' (1.) In 3-9 Joshua is encouraged to be of good courage, relying on Yahwè's help and sure promise to give the land west of Jordan to the Israelites. He is exhorted to meditate habitually on 'this book of the law,' and to observe it strictly. For the language comp. 3-5^a with Deut. xi. 24, 25^a, and 5^b, 6, 7, 9, with Deut. xxxi. 7, 8. (2.) In ver. 11 phrases characteristic of Deut. have been added, viz. 'to go in to possess,' 'to possess it,' as in Deut. iii. 18, iv. 5, 14, 26, v. 28, vi. 1, ix. 1, xi. 8, 10, 31, etc., 'your God.' (3.) In 12-18 the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh are exhorted, having already settled on the east of Jordan, to help their countrymen in the conquest of Canaan on the west. Possibly the narrative here may have a substratum of older material. But the language is that of Deut. Comp. especially Deut. iii. 18-20. Besides, the 'Oldest Book' only speaks of Reuben and Gad as settled east of Jordan in the time of Moses. Here the half tribe of Manasseh is associated with them. See note in vol. i. p. 185. It seems clear that the Deuteronomical additions to this chapter were not made at once and by one hand. In ver. 6 Joshua is exhorted to be strong and confident in his campaign. Then, by a transition which is exceedingly abrupt and awkward, he is told, in ver. 7, to 'be strong and valiant, to observe to do according to all the law,' etc. Whether we can distinguish the two strata of Deuteronomical addition throughout is another question. Albers supposes that the editor who united Deut. with the 'Oldest Book' wrote vv. 3-6, 9, 17^a, 18^a. In these verses Joshua is encouraged with the sure promise of divine help. A later writer of the same school added 7, 8, 17^b, 18^b, in which strict observance of the law is made the condition of the help promised.

² 'The river Euphrates.' The Massoretic text adds, 'All the land of the Hittites,' an interpolation absent in the LXX.

thee all the days of thy life ; as I have been with Moses, I shall be with thee ; I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. 6. Be strong and valiant, for thou shalt allot to this people the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them. 7. Only be strong and very valiant, to observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee ; thou shalt not turn aside from it to the right or left, that thou mayest deal wisely whithersoever thou goest. 8. This book of this law shall not depart out of thy mouth, and thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein, for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous and then shalt thou deal wisely. 9. Have I not commanded thee ? Be strong and valiant : dread not, neither be dismayed, for Yahwè thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest.

12. And to the Reubenites and the Gadites and to the half tribe of Manasseh, Joshua spoke, saying, 13. Remember the word, which Moses the servant of Yahwè commanded you, saying, Yahwè your God has given you rest¹ and bestowed this land upon you. 14. Your wives, your little ones and your cattle shall abide in the land which Moses gave you beyond Jordan, but you, all the fighting men, shall pass over before your brethren armed and shall help them, 15. till Yahwè shall give rest to your brethren, as to you, and they also shall possess the land which Yahwè your God is giving to them ; then you shall return to the land of your possession² which Moses the servant of Yahwè gave you beyond Jordan in the east. 16. So they answered Joshua, saying, All that thou hast commanded us, we will do and whithersoever thou sendest us, we will go. 17. According as we obeyed Moses in all things, so will we obey thee ; only Yahwè thy

¹ 'Has given you rest.' The Massoretic reading, 'is giving you rest and will bestow,' is inconsistent with ver. 15. I have (with Kautzsch) followed the LXX. rendering, which may rest on a different reading, הניח for מניח.

² 'Land of your possession.' The Massoretic text adds, 'And shall possess it,' a gloss which disturbs the grammatical connection, and is absent in the LXX.

God be with thee, as he was with Moses. 18. *Every one who rebels against thy command and will not obey thy words in all that thou commandest him, shall be put to death. Only be strong and valiant.*

THE SPIES AND RAHAB.¹

II. 10. [*Rabah said*], *For we have heard how Yahwè dried up the water of the Red Sea before you, when you went forth from Egypt, and what you did to the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon and to Og, whom you put under a ban.* 11. *And as soon as we heard it our hearts melted, neither did any man's spirit maintain itself before you, for Yahwè your God is God in the heavens above and on the earth beneath.*

THE PASSING OF THE JORDAN.²

III. 7. *And Yahwè said to Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know, that, as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.* . . . IV. 14. *On that*

¹ 'The Spies and Rahab.' In the 'Oldest Book,' Rahab expresses her conviction that Yahwè has given Canaan to the Israelites, because of the panic which has fallen on the inhabitants. But the Deuteronomical editor puts a confession of pure monotheism into the mouth of the heathen woman. He makes her use almost the very words of Deut. iv. 39, and argue from the wonders done by Yahwè at the Exodus and east of the Jordan. Albers and Kautzsch attribute 9^b and 24 also to the Deuteronomical editor.

² 'The Passing of the Jordan.' iii. 7 and iv. 14 are easily seen to be Deuteronomical additions. They are not necessary in the context of the narrative. They draw attention to the divine help which supported Joshua, and are closely akin to the Deuteronomical passage, Josh. i. 3-6, 9, 17^a, 18^a. For the style comp. Deut. ii. 25, 'This day will I begin.' Notice also *אשר* in the sense of 'in order that,' and the ending *ן* for the third masc. pl. imperf., both characteristic of the Deuteronomical style. (For ref. see Holzinger, vol. i. p. 285 and p. 291.)

iv. 21-24 is also probably Deuteronomical. This appears from a comparison of ver. 21, 'When your children shall ask,' etc., with Deut. vi. 20, from the idea expressed in ver. 24, that the fear of Yahwè is to be universal, and from various turns of expression throughout the three verses. The translation 'that they may fear' involves a slight and necessary correction in the Masoretic pointing. For other small interpolations by the Deuteronomical editor in chaps. iii. iv., see the notes on these chaps. in vol. i.

day Yahwè magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel, and they feared him, as they feared Moses, all the days of his life. . . . 21 And he [Joshua] spoke to the children of Israel, saying, When your children shall ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What are these stones? 22. then you shall let your children know, saying, On dry land did Israel pass over this Jordan. 23. For Yahwè your God dried up the waters of Jordan from before you, till you passed over, as Yahwè your God did to the waters of the Red Sea, which he dried up from before us till we passed over, 24. that all the peoples of the earth may know that the hand of Yahwè is mighty, that they may fear Yahwè your God for ever.

ADDED TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF JERICHO.¹

VI. 27. *So Yahwè was with Joshua and his fame was in all the land.*

ADDED TO THE STORY OF ACHAN'S TRESPASS.²

VII. 12^b. *I will not be any more with you, unless you destroy that which is under ban from among you.*

14. *In the morning therefore you shall draw near tribe by tribe, and the tribe which Yahwè shall take shall draw near by clans, and the clan which Yahwè shall take shall draw near by families, and the family which Yahwè shall take shall draw near man by man. 14. And it shall be that he that is taken with the thing under ban, shall be burnt with fire, he and all that is his, because he has transgressed the covenant of Yahwè and because he has done a deed of shame in Israel. 24. [And Joshua took Achan, he and all Israel with him, and they took] the silver and the mantle and*

¹ 'Added to the account of the Taking of Jericho.' Comp. the Deuteronomic thought and style in Josh. i. 5, 9, iii. 7, iv. 14. For smaller additions see the same chapter as given in vol. i.

² 'Added to the story of Achan's Trespass.' See notes on this chapter in vol. i. The concluding words here attributed to the Deuteronomical editor 26 *β have been taken from Deut. xiii. 18.

the wedge of gold and his sons and his daughters and his oxen and his asses and his flock and his tent and all that was his, 25^b. and they burned them with fire. 26. So Yahwè returned from the heat of his fury.

ADDED TO THE STORY OF THE TAKING OF AI.¹

VIII. 2^a. *Thou shalt do to Ai and its king, as thou didst to Jericho and its king: only its spoil and its cattle shall you take for a prey to yourselves. . . . 27. Only the cattle and the spoil of that city Israel took, as a prey to themselves, according to the word of Yahwè which he commanded Joshua.*

THE ALTAR ON MOUNT EBAL AND PROCLAMATION OF
THE LAW.²

30. *Then Joshua built an altar to Yahwè the God of Israel on*

¹ 'Added to the story of the Taking of Ai.' See notes of chap. viii. 1-29 in vol. i.

² 'The altar on Mount Ebal and proclamation of the Law.' It is admitted by all that this section stands out of all connection with the context in the present Book of Joshua. It is impossible to see why Joshua should have performed this solemn ceremony when he was just beginning the conquest of middle Canaan, or how he could have done so in a country still unconquered. True, the LXX. place the section after ix. 2, but nothing is gained by shifting it to this position. It is also evident that the language and style, except for one phrase, is thoroughly Deuteronomic, and no less clear that this section relates the execution of the orders already given in Deut. xxvii. 1-8, to raise an altar and offer sacrifices, and to write the law on stones. The narrative here, if we omit ver. 33, and the words 'the blessing and the curse' from ver. 34, is tolerably clear, though the writer, presuming that his readers are familiar with Deut. xxvii. 1-8, does not expressly distinguish between the stones of the altar and those on which the law was inscribed. Into this narrative the mention of 'the blessing and the curse' in ver. 34, and of the division of the people before Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, is awkwardly thrust. This notice is, of course, inserted to show that the command in Deut. xxvii. 11-13 was carried out. It is not necessary to suppose with Kuenen (§ 14. 10), that the insertion has been made by a later interpolator. The awkwardness may arise from the effort of a single Deuteronomic editor to recognise at once Deut. xxvii. 1-8 and 11-13 (so Albers, p. 125). Still less is Cornill (p. 89) justified in attributing the whole section to one of the latest hands which reduced the Hexateuch to its present form. On the con-

mount Ebal, 31. as Moses Yahwè's servant commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no man had lifted up any iron, and they offered thereon burnt offerings to Yahwè and slew festal sacrifices. 32. And he wrote there on the stones a copy of the law of Moses which he prescribed for the children of Israel. 33. And all Israel and their elders and officers and judges stood on this side the ark and on that side before the priests the Levites, who bore the ark of the covenant of Yahwè (as well the stranger as the homeborn, half of them in front of mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of mount Ebal, as Moses Yahwè's servant had commanded at the first, to bless the people of Israel. 34. And afterwards he read all the words of the law, the blessing and the curse), according to all that is written in the book of the law. 35. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua did not read before the whole congregation of Israel, and the women and the little ones and the settler that marched among them.

ADDED TO THE STORY OF THE GIBEONITES.¹

IX. 1. *Now it came to pass when all the kings who were beyond*

trary the section before us ignores Deut. xxvii. 14-26, plainly because it did not yet exist. At the same time, the words bracketed, 'as well the stranger as the homeborn,' are a formula of the Priestly Writer (Lev. xxiv. 16, 22, etc.), and must be (Dillm. allows that they may be) due to a later hand. Moreover, the phrase 'Yahwè the God of Israel' seems to come from the final editor of the Book of Joshua, who was, as is shown at the end of the 'Special Introduction to the Priestly Documents,' distinct from the final editor of the Pentateuch. It occurs twice only in the Pentateuch, viz. Exod. v. 1, xxxii. 27 (both verses belonging to the 'Oldest Book'), but fourteen times in Joshua, viz. vii. 13, 19, 20, viii. 30, ix. 18 *seq.*, x. 40, 42. xiii. 14, 33, xiv. 14, xxii. 24, xxiv. 2, 23. Comp. with this note that on Deut. xxvii.

¹ 'Added to the story of the Gibeonites.' ix. 1, 2 form an introduction, not merely to chap. ix., but to the whole account of the conquest. They show clear marks of the Deuteronomical style. Comp. 'in the hill country, and in the lowland, and on all the shore of the sea,' with Deut. i. 7; 'the great sea,' with Joshua i. 4; *אל מול* 'in front of,' with Joshua viii. 33. In ver. 24 we have a definite reference to the Deuteronomical law, Deut. xx. 10-18. Comp. Joshua ii. 9^b-11.

Jordan, in the hill country and in the lowland and on all the shore of the great sea as far as the front of Lebanon, the Hittite and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite and the Jebusite, heard thereof, 2. that they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel with one accord. . . .

. . . 9. [The Gibeonites said, We have come] for the fame of Yahwè thy God, for we have heard tidings of him, namely all that he did in Egypt, 10. and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon and to Og king of Bashan who was at Ashtaroth. . . . 24. And they answered Joshua and said, It was told thy servants for certain, how Yahwè thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you the whole land and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you: therefore we were sore afraid for our lives because of you, and did this thing.

ADDED TO THE STORY OF THE VICTORY AT GIBEON AND THE
CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH.¹

X. 8. And Yahwè said to Joshua, Be not thou afraid of them, for I have delivered them into thy hands: not a man of them shall stand before thee. . . . 25. And Joshua said to them, Fear not and be not dismayed: be strong and of good courage, for thus will Yahwè do to all your enemies, with whom you make war.

. . . 40. So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country and the south and the lowland and the slopes and all their kings; he did not let one escape, but he put everything that had breath under the ban, as Yahwè the God of Israel had commanded. 41. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh Barnea to Gaza and all the country

¹ 'Added to the story of the victory,' etc. See notes on chap. x. in vol. i. In vv. 8 and 25 the Deuteronomical character of the language speaks for itself. Comp., e.g., with 'Fear not and be not dismayed,' Deut. i. 21, xx. 1, 3, xxxi. 6, 8, Joshua viii. 1, x. 8, 25, xi. 6; with 'Be strong and of good courage,' Deut. iii. 28. xxxi. 6, 7, Joshua i. 6, 9, 18. In 40-42 reference is made to the command received by Moses, Deut. xx. 16, 17. Notice also the similarity of language.

of Goshen to Gibeon. 42. Now all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Yahwè the God of Israel fought for Israel.

ADDED TO STORY OF THE DEFEAT OF JABIN.¹

XI. 2. [*And Jabin sent*] *to the kings that were on the north, in the hill country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland and in the heights of Dor on the west, 3. to the Canaanite on the east and the west, and the Amorite and the Hittite and the Perizzite and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Mizpah. . . . 8. and Yahwè delivered them into the hand of Israel, and they smote them and did not let one escape.*

10. And Joshua turned back at that time and took Hazor and smote its king with the sword, for Hazor beforetime was the head of all these kingdoms. 11. And they smote every soul that was in it with the edge of the sword, devoting them to the ban, as Moses

¹ 'Added to the story of the Defeat of Jabin.' It is generally admitted that xi. 10-20 (see e.g. Kuenen, i. 1, § 7, n. 26, Dillm. *ad loc.*, Driver, p. 101, Albers, p. 145), are in the Deuteronomical style. The previous notes make it needless to point out the marks of this style in detail. The same remark applies to the words extracted from ver. 8, while vv. 2 and 3 prepare the way for the summary review in vv. 10 *seq.* Note, however, that in ver. 11 we have an expression characteristic of the 'Priestly Writer,' viz. 'soul' in the sense of 'person.'

It is more difficult to decide with respect to vv. 21-23, which Dillm. and Driver attribute also to the Deuteronomical writer. The style points in this direction. Thus the phrase 'at this time' occurs fifteen times in Deut., only three times in the rest of the Pentateuch, and the reference to the promise made to Moses agrees with Deut. iii. 21-28, xxxi. 4-6. On the other hand, Kuenen points out that the statement here contradicts the Deuteronomical account in Josh. xiv. 6-15. But it is possible that the Deuteronomical editor here generalised and attributed to Joshua what he elsewhere, following the 'Oldest Book,' attributed to Caleb. The language does not favour Kuenen's theory that the verses are a late interpolation. He himself admits that 23^b is Deuteronomical. Comp. Josh. xiv. 15. The mention of Anab with Hebron and Debir seems to show that the Deuteronomical editor had some older document before him. Kautzsch, indeed, claims the verses in question for the 'Oldest Book,' for which there can scarcely be sufficient ground.

Yahwè's servant commanded. 12. And all the cities of those kings and all their kings Joshua took and smote them with the edge of the sword, he put them under the ban, as Moses Yahwè's servant had commanded. 14. And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle the children of Israel took for a prey to themselves, but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, till they destroyed them; they did not leave anything that had breath. 15. As Yahwè commanded Moses his servant, so Moses commanded Joshua and so Joshua did; he left nothing undone of all that Yahwè had commanded Moses. 16. So Joshua took all this land, the hill land and all the south and all the land of Goshen and the lowland and the Arabah and the hill land of Israel and its lowland, 17. from the range of smooth hills that rises towards Seir, even as far as Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon beneath mount Hermon: and he took all their kings and smote them and killed them. 18. For a long time did Joshua make war with all these kings. 19. There was not a city that surrendered itself peacefully to the children of Israel, except the Hivites that dwelt in Gibeon; they took all in war. 20. For so it was ordered by Yahwè, to harden their hearts, so that they should meet Israel in battle, in order to destroy them, as Yahwè commanded Moses.

21. And Joshua came at that time and cut off the Anakim from the hill country, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab and from all the hill country of Judah: Joshua put them under the ban with their cities. 22. There was none of the Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath and in Ashdod did some remain. 23. So Joshua took the whole land according to all that Yahwè spoke to Moses, and Joshua gave it for an inheritance to Israel according to their divisions in their tribes. And the land had rest from war.

LIST OF CONQUERED KINGS.¹

XII. 1. *Now these are the kings of the land whom the children*

¹ 'List of conquered kings.' The chapter is unhesitatingly assigned by Dillm. and Driver to the Deuteronomical editor. This is certainly just criticism

of Israel smote and possessed their land beyond Jordan toward the sunrising from the ravine of Arnon to mount Hermon and all the Arabah eastward. 2. Sihon king of the Amorites who dwelt in Heshbon, who ruled from Aroer which is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon and the midst of the ravine and half Gilead, as far as the river Jabbok, the boundary of the children of Ammon. 3. And the Arabah to the sea of Chinneroth, eastward, and to the sea of the Arabah the Salt Sea, eastward, in the direction of Beth-jeshimoth and on the south under the slopes of Pisgah: 4. and the territory of Og king of Bashan, who was of the remnant of the Rephaim, who dwelt at Ashteroth and at Edrei, 5. and ruled in mount Hermon and Salcah, and in all Bashan to the boundary of the Geshurites and Maacathites and in [the other] half of Gilead to the border of Sihon king of Heshbon. 6. Moses Yahwè's servant and the children of Israel smote them and Moses Yahwè's servant gave it as a possession to the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh.

7. And these are the kings of the land which Joshua and the children of Israel smote beyond Jordan westward, from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even to the range of smooth hills that rises towards Seir; and Joshua gave it as a possession to the tribes of Israel according to their divisions, 8. in the hill country, and the lowland, and the Arabah, and the slopes, and the wilderness and the south, [the territory of] the Hittites and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Perizzites and the Hivites and the Jebusites, 9. the king of Jericho, one; the king of Ai which is beside Beth-el, one; 10. the king of Jerusalem, one; the king of Hebron, one; 11. the king of Jarmuth, one; the king of Lachish, one;

so far as vv. 1-6 go; they are based on Deut. iii. 9-12, 14-17, not on Num. xxi.-xxii. In the later verses there are at least traces of the Deuteronomic style, viz. in ver. 7, הַמֶּלֶךְ (Deut. ii. 5, 9, 12, 19, iii. 20; Josh. i. 15, xii. 6, and nowhere else in the Hexateuch), and in ver. 8 the list of six nations exactly as in ix. 1. But we cannot be sure whether the list of thirty kings was drawn up by the Deuteronomic editor to atone for the omissions he had made in the history of the conquest, as it stood in the 'Oldest Book,' or whether the list itself comes from that document.

12. the king of Eglon, one; the king of Gezer, one; 13. the king of Debir, one; the king of Geder, one; 14. the king of Hormah, one; the king of Arad, one; 15. the king of Libnah, one; the king of Adullam, one; 16. the king of Makkedah, one; the king of Beth-el, one; 17. the king of Tappuah, one; the king of Hopher, one; 18. the king of Aphek in Sharon,¹ one; 19. the king of Madon, one; the king of Hazor, one; 20. the king of Shimron-meron, one; the king of Achshaph, one; 21. the king of Taanach, one; the king of Megiddo, one; 22. the king of Kadesh, one; the king of Jokneam in Carmel, one; 23. the king of Dor in Naphthad-dor, one; the king of the heathen in Galilee,² one; 24. the king of Tirzah, one; all the kings thirty.

JOSHUA ALLOTS THE LAND WEST OF JORDAN TO THE
NINE AND A HALF TRIBES.³

XIII. 1. *Now Joshua was old, stricken in years and Yahuē*

¹ 'Aphek in Sharon.' This emendation is based on the LXX., βασιλέα Ὀφέκ τῆς Ἀρώκ (= Σαρόν). It is justified by the more precise determination of place in vv. 22, 23, viz. 'Jokneam in Carmel,' 'Dor in Naphath Dor.' On the other hand the Massoretic text involves a singularity of construction which is more than suspicious, and nothing is to be said for the rendering in our Revised Version, 'King of Lass Sharon.' The emendation was proposed by Wellh. *Sam.* p. 55, and adopted by Hollenberg (Alexandrin. Uebersetz. *Josua.*, p. 13), Dillm. and Driver.

² 'The heathen in Galilee.' So LXX., βασιλέα Γετ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. The Massoretic reading, 'Nations in Gilgal,' is senseless, and the mention of a point so far south as Gilgal is out of place here. The LXX. reading is adopted by Dillm., Driver, and Oettli.

³ 'The nine and a half tribes.' Here ver. 14 is taken almost verbally from Deut. xviii. 1, and expresses a characteristic view of the Deuteronomical school: the summary description of the land on the east of the Jordan is in close, sometimes verbal, agreement with the Deuteronomical section, Josh. xii. 1-6; the list of places, still unconquered (1-6) cannot well belong to the 'Oldest Book,' since it omits the places mentioned there (Josh. xv. 63, xvi. 10, xvii. 11) as still in Canaanite hands, or to the 'Priestly Writer,' according to whom (Josh. xviii. 1^b, xix. 43) the territory referred to here as still to be won, was already in Israelite hands.

As they stand, the verses before us present an appearance of singular confusion, and of this the most plausible explanation has been given by Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. 1, § 7, n. 27) developing a hint of Wellhausen's (*Hex.* p. 129).

said to him, *Thou art old and stricken in years, and there remains yet very much land to be possessed.* 2. *This is the land which is left, all the regions of the Philistines and all the Geshurites.* 3. *From the Shihor which flows on the east of Egypt to the northern border of Ekron it is reckoned to the [territory of] the Canaanite, [namely] the five princes of the Philistines the Gazites and the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites and the Ekronites and the Avvim on the south,*¹ 4. *[further] all the land of the Canaanites and the Mearah that belongs to the Sidonians, as far as Aphek to the boundary of the Gebalites,*² 5. *and all Lebanon towards the sunrising from Baalgad under mount Hermon to the point where the way lies to Hamath,* 6. *all the inhabitants of the mountain from Lebanon to Misrephoth-maim, all the Sidonians,—I will drive them out before the children of Israel: only allot it to Israel for an inheritance, as I have commanded thee.* 7. *And now divide this land for an inheritance to the nine tribes and the half tribe of Manasseh.* 8. *[But as for the [other] half of the tribe of Manasseh]*³ *with it the Reubenites and Gadites have taken their possession which Moses gave them on the other side of the Jordan eastward, as Moses*

Kuenen accounts for the confusion thus. Ver. 1 belonged originally to the 'Oldest Book,' and was connected with xviii. 2. There we are told that seven tribes still remained landless, Judah and Joseph having already secured possessions west of the Jordan. But the Deuteronomical view was that the land, as a whole, was subdued once and for all by Joshua. Consequently in vv. 2-6 he interprets the statement which he has taken over from an older source, viz. 'very much land' remained to be possessed, as if it referred merely to outlying strips on the coast and beneath Lebanon. Next, with strange inconsistency, he, in ver. 7, speaks of the land (obviously the land mentioned in ver. 1) as to be divided among the nine tribes. In short, he first explains away the language of ver. 1, and then uses it in the utmost amplitude of its meaning.

¹ 'On the south.' The sense absolutely requires the words to be taken with ver. 3, as has been done in LXX., Pesh., Vulg.

² 'Boundary of the Gebalites.' The Massoretic reading is syntactically incorrect, and that of the LXX. shows that the text must have been corrupted at an early date. Dillmann's emendation has been adopted.

³ 'But as for the other half of the tribe of Manasseh.' 'At the beginning of ver. 8 the text,' as Dr. Driver rightly says, must be imperfect. The words in brackets are an attempt (after Dillm.) to restore the original sense.

Yahwè's servant gave them, 9. from Aroer that is on the edge of the ravine of Arnon, and the city that is in the midst of the valley, and all the plain of Medeba to Dibon, 10. and all the cities of Sihon king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon to the border of the children of Ammon; 11. and Gilead and the territory of the Geshurites and Maacathites and all mount Hermon and all Bashan to Salecah; 12. all the kingdom of Og in Bashan, who reigned in Ashteroth and Edrei,—he was left of the remnant of the Rephaim—; and Moses smote them and dispossessed them. 14. Only to the tribe of Levi he gave no possession: Yahwè the God of Israel,¹—he is his possession, as he promised to him.

CALEB'S PORTION.²

XIV. 6. *Then the children of Judah drew near to Joshua in Gilgal, and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, said to him, Thou knowest the word which Yahwè spoke to Moses the man of God concerning me (and concerning thee) in Kadesh-barnea. 7. Forty years old was I, when Moses Yahwè's servant sent me from Kadesh-barnea to spy out the land, and I brought him word again, as it was in my heart. 8. But my brethren that went up with me, made the heart of the people melt, whereas I followed fully after Yahwè my God. 9. Now Moses swore on that day, saying,*

¹ 'Yahwè, the God of Israel.' So the LXX. The Massoretic text is ungrammatical. Ver. 31 is also Deuteronomical, being a mere repetition of ver. 14, but is wanting in the LXX., and has probably been added by a late hand.

² 'Caleb's portion.' Admittedly by the Deuteronomical writer, or at least altered by him. The language reproduces that of Deut. i. 22-36, and not that of the 'Oldest Book.' Here as in the 'Oldest Book,' and in Deut. i., Caleb alone is the faithful spy, and Joshua is not concerned in the matter except as a witness. This is plain from the whole narrative, especially from ver. 8. But in ver. 6 the clause 'and concerning thee' has been interpolated to adapt the narrative to that of the 'Priestly Writer' who made Joshua Caleb's faithful comrade in the exploration. The general rule obtains here, viz. that the Deuteronomical school has its own religious ideas expressed in its own terms, but is usually content to borrow its account of facts from more ancient documents.

Surely the land whereon thy foot has trodden shall be an inheritance to thee and to thy children for ever, since thou hast followed fully after Yahwè my God. 10. And now, behold, Yahwè has kept me alive, as he promised, these five and forty years, from the time that Yahwè spoke this word to Moses, during which [years] Israel marched in the wilderness; and now, behold, I am this day eighty-five years old. 11. Even now I am strong, as in the day that Moses sent me; as my strength was then, so is it now for war and for going out and in. 12. Now therefore give me this hill country, of which Yahwè spoke on that day,—yea, thou thyself didst hear on that day—for Anakim are there and great, fenced cities: perhaps, Yahwè is with me, so that I shall dispossess them, as Yahwè promised. 13. So Joshua wished him blessing and give Hebron to Caleb son of Jephunneh for an inheritance. 14. Therefore Hebron fell to Caleb son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite for an inheritance to this day. 15. But formerly Hebron was called the city of Arba, who was the greatest man among the Anakim. And the land had rest from war.

FRAGMENTARY ADDITIONS ON THE FINAL DIVISION OF THE LAND.

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE DEUTERONOMIC ACCOUNT OF THAT DIVISION.

XVIII. 7. *For the Levites have no portion among you; nay, the priesthood of Yahwè is their inheritance: and Gad and Reuben and the half tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance beyond Jordan eastward, which Moses the servant of Yahwè gave them. . . . 10^b. And there Joshua divided the land to the children of Israel according to their divisions.*

XXI. 41. *So Yahwè gave to Israel all the land which he swore to give to their fathers, and they possessed it and dwelt therein. 42. And Yahwè gave them rest round about according to all that he swore to their fathers, and not a man stood before them of all*

their enemies: all their enemies did Yahwè deliver into their hand. 43. Of all the goodly promises which Yahwè made to the house of Israel, none failed: the whole came to pass.

DISMISSAL OF THE TRANSJORDANIC TRIBES.

XXII. 1. *Then Joshua called to the Reubenites and Gadues and the half tribe of Manasseh 2. and said to them, You have kept all that Moses the servant of Yahwè commanded you and have listened to my voice in all that I commanded you. 3. You have not left your brethren throughout these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge of the commandment of Yahwè your God. 4. And now Yahwè your God has given rest to your brethren, as he promised: therefore now turn and get you to your tents to the land of your possession which Moses the servant of Yahwè gave you beyond Jordan. 5. Only observe carefully to do the commandment and instruction which Moses the servant of Yahwè commanded you, to love Yahwè your God and to walk in all his ways and to keep his commandments and to cleave to him and to serve him with all your heart and with all your soul. 6. Then Joshua blessed them and sent them forth, and they went to their tents. 7. Now to the half tribe¹ of Manasseh Moses had*

¹ 'Now to the half tribe of Manasseh Moses had given.' The origin of these two last verses, *i.e.* 7 and 8, is doubtful. They seem to be appended as a conclusion to 1-6, and this becomes still more likely, if, with Dillm., we adopt the LXX. reading. The Mass. text, 'He said, Return with much wealth to your tents,' came into existence in the final redaction of the Hexateuch. There vv. 7 and 8 were followed immediately by a statement from P., that the two and a half tribes did return to their homes across the Jordan, and, of course, there was an intolerable awkwardness in a repetition at length of the same simple fact. But when the text has been thus purified, its source is still very hard to determine. The connection with 1-6, which section is admittedly Deuteronomical, makes one inclined to attribute the sequel in vv. 7 and 8 to a writer of the same school. Again 'tents' in the sense of 'home' ('returning to their tents,' etc.), is a recognised mark of the Deuteronomic style (comp. Deut. v. 27, xvi. 7; Josh. xxii. 4), and occurs in each of the verses in question. On the other hand נכסים in ver. 8 occurs elsewhere only in very late literature, viz. Chron. and Eccles.

given inheritance in Bashan, and to the other half Joshua had given it on the west side of the Jordan. When then Joshua had dismissed them to their tents and had blessed them, 8. they returned with much wealth to their tents and with very much cattle, with silver and gold and bronze and iron and garments in very great abundance. They divided the spoil of their foes with their brethren.

JOSHUA'S FINAL EXHORTATION.

XXIII. 1. *And it came to pass after many days when Yahwè had given rest to Israel from all their enemies round about, and Joshua was old and was stricken in years, 2. that Joshua called all Israel, their elders and their heads and their judges and their officers, and said to them, I am old, I am well stricken in years. 3. And you have seen all that Yahwè your God has done to all these nations, [sweeping them] away from before you, for it was Yahwè your God that fought for you. 4. See, I have allotted to you these nations that remain, as an inheritance for your tribes, from Jordan—even all the nations that I have cut off—to the great sea¹ in the west. 5. Now Yahwè your God himself will thrust them out from before you and will dispossess them from before you and you shall possess their land, as Yahwè your God promised you. 6. Therefore be very firm, to observe and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, without turning from it to the right or left, 7. that you mingle not with these nations, these that are left beside you ; neither shall you make mention of the name of their gods or cause to swear by them or serve them or bow down to them. 8. Nay, to Yahwè your God shall you cleave, as you have done to this day. 9. Therefore Yahwè dispossessed from before you great and strong nations ; but as for you, no man has stood before you to this day. 10. One man of you chased a thousand, for it was Yahwè your God that fought for you, as he*

¹ 'To the great sea.' The word 'to' has been inserted. Some such change in the Massoretic text is required by the construction.

promised you. 11. Take good heed therefore to yourselves, that you love Yahwè your God. 12. But if you at all turn back and cleave to the remnant of these nations, these that are left beside you, and make marriages with them and mingle with them and they with you, 13. know for a certainty that Yahwè your God will no more dispossess these nations from before you, but they shall be a snare and a trap to you and a scourge in your sides and thorns in your eyes, till you perish from this good land which Yahwè your God gave you. 14. Now behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth: acknowledge then with all your heart and with all your soul that nothing has failed of all the good things which Yahwè your God promised concerning you: all have come to pass for you: no one thing thereof has failed. 15. But it shall be that as all the good things are come upon you which Yahwè your God promised you, so Yahwè will bring upon you every evil threat, till he destroy you from this good ground which Yahwè your God has given you. 16. If you transgress the covenant of Yahwè your God which he commanded you and go and serve other gods and bow down to them, then shall the wrath of Yahwè be kindled against you, and you shall perish quickly from the good land which he has given you.

PART II
THE PRIESTLY DOCUMENTS

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE 'PRIESTLY' DOCUMENTS

IN the Introduction to vol. i. I have spoken of the 'Priestly Writer,' describing his method and aim, and endeavouring to fix the date of his work. Now it is quite true that a single document, due in all probability to one hand, gives the law of ritual worship revealed by God to Moses, and communicated by him to the people, and sets this ritual code in a framework of history, which is designed to exhibit the origin and development of religious institutions in Israel. But although a true, this is by no means a complete account of the matter. Indeed, in vol. i., clear notice was given that something remained to be said, and that while in one sense we may speak of the 'Priestly Writer' in the singular, we are also compelled to recognise traces of varied authorship in the 'Priestly' narrative and legislation as it lies before us in the Hexateuch. In the first place, the writer who constructed the main fabric of the 'Priestly' document had been anticipated to some extent by earlier legislators. Thus the prophet Ezekiel devotes the closing portion of his book (xl.—xlvi.) to a scheme for regulating the worship of Israel in a spirit akin to that which manifests itself in the 'Priestly' legislation of the Hexateuch. Ezekiel's attempt may have been one of many, and it is certain that another short code of like kind, though with much closer relation to the author's own time, has been preserved in Lev. xvii.—xxvi., where it stands incorporated in a more elaborate and developed legislation of the same general character. In the second place, additions were gradually made to the main body of the 'Priestly' Code. It was enlarged and emended to

suit the exigencies of the time, and to satisfy more fully that same temper of mind which had demanded and created the code in its original form. Consequently we have to reckon, not simply with a 'Priestly Writer,' but also with a 'Priestly' school, and we are obliged to distinguish three stages in the process by which the 'Priestly' Code in its fullest and final form arose. These are (1.) a short code usually known as the 'Law of Holiness' (see vol. i. p. lxix); (2.) the corpus or main body of the legislation introduced and followed by a history of Israel down to the conquest; (3.) supplementary matter added from time to time and by diverse hands in subsequent editions of the 'Priestly' narrative and code. The reader, however, must be reminded that those three stages are associated by a striking unity, despite differences which are also striking, both in thought and style. Nor is this surprising. There is no great interval of time between the 'Law of Holiness' and the main body of the 'Priestly' document with which it has been united. The authors or compilers of each lived in the same circle, were subject to the same influences, and were actuated on the whole by similar motives. On the other hand, the work of revising and enlarging the chief 'Priestly' document was carried on for a long period, perhaps for more than two centuries, but the men engaged in it were students of the 'Priestly' law; they had drunk deep of its spirit and had made its phraseology as familiar as a mother-tongue.

A. THE LAW OF HOLINESS.

1. *Reasons for distinguishing Lev. xvii.—xxvi. as a separate code.*

a. *General characteristics of language and thought. The name by which it is usually known.*

The 'Book of the Covenant' (Exod. xx. 20-xxiii. 33), and the Deuteronomical code both, as we have seen, end with divine promises and threats, by which the observance of the law in each case is enforced. When, therefore, we meet in Lev. xxvi. 3-45 with a long enumeration of the benefits and evils which are

to attend obedience or disobedience to the law of Moses, we naturally ask how such a passage as this comes to stand in the middle of the 'Priestly' Code, where it is, of course, quite out of place. As we read ver. 46, 'These are the statutes and judgments and law which Yahwè gave [as a bond] between himself and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the instrumentality of Moses,' we can hardly avoid the suspicion that we have come upon a code within a code. Even a cursory reading of the preceding chapters, from xvii. 1 onwards, may well change this suspicion into conviction. In some respects the tone is evidently distinct from that which characterises the rest of Leviticus and the 'Priestly' document as a whole. We cannot fail to be impressed by a vigour and simplicity and directness which are in vivid contrast to the dry style of the 'Priestly Writer' and his successors. Continually 'the divine I' asserts itself, especially at the end of particular laws. In this way expressions such as 'I am Yahwè,' 'I am Yahwè your God,' occur about fifty times within the compass of these few chapters. True, they are not absolutely unknown in P proper, but there is no approach there to this frequency of use. In the same connection we may refer to the instructive contrast between the formula of P, 'That soul shall be cut off from its people,' and the personal lively turn given to the expression in Lev. xvii.—xxvi., 'I will cut off him' (or 'it,' *i.e.* the soul) 'from the midst of his (or its) people.' Of the same kind is another phrase, 'I will set my face' (וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ), which occurs in xvii. 10, xx. 3, 6, xxvi. 17, or 'I will put my face (וַשְׂמֹתִי) against that man,' etc., which occurs in xx. 5, neither being found elsewhere in the Hexateuch. Again, many of the laws are addressed to the individual Israelite in the second person singular (*e.g.* 'The nakedness of thy father and that of thy mother thou shalt not uncover,' etc.), a form common in the 'Book of the Covenant' and in Deuteronomy, but unknown to P. The hortatory tone is also characteristic of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. as compared with P, though it is a feature which also appears in the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deuteronomy. In ch. xxvi. the

pathetic eloquence of the prophets is imitated, or rather, perhaps, unconsciously adopted with striking effect. We have still to mention one peculiarity which distinguishes the little code throughout. It is this. The author constantly insists on the holiness of Yahwè, and the holiness which He demands from His people. Nowhere else is this thought so central or so dominant. (See xix. 2, xx. 7 *seq.*, 26, xxi. 6-8, 15, 23, xxii. 9, 16, 32, and ch. xviii. xx.) Warnings against profanation of Yahwè's name, or of his 'holy name,' 'the sanctuary,' etc., are constantly repeated. (See xviii. 21, xix. 12, xxi. 6, for 'profane the name of thy or their God'; xx. 3, xxii. 2, 32, for 'profane my holy name'; xix. 8, xxi. 12, 23, xxii. 15, for 'profane a holy thing,' or 'the sanctuary'; xix. 29, xxi. 9, 15, xxii. 9, for the same verb with other objects.) Because of this notable peculiarity Klostermann in 1877 named this code the 'Law of Holiness,' a title now generally recognised.

β. Special peculiarities of language.

For complete information on the vocabulary of the 'Law of Holiness,' the reader must be referred to the list of words in Driver's *Introduction*, p. 45, or to the fuller and more serviceable one in Holzinger, i. p. 411 *seq.* The following instances, added to those of a more general character given above, at least suffice to prove that the impress of individual style is very strongly marked. It cannot be by mere accident that so many words and phrases are found here, but nowhere else in the Hexateuch. Such are אֱלִילִים 'not-gods' (xix. 4, xxvi. 1), זָמָה 'evil purpose,' 'lewdness' (xviii. 17, xix. 29, xx. 14), viz. 'to walk in statutes' (xviii. 3, xx., 23, xxvi. 3), 'his blood shall be upon him' or 'them' (xx. 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 27), instead of the usual expression 'his blood shall be upon his head.' In the next place, there are expressions which deserve notice because they occur again and again in the 'Law of Holiness,' while they are very rare in the rest of the Hexateuch. Examples are: אִישׁ אִישׁ for

'whosoever' (xvii. 3, 8, 10, 13, xviii. 6, xx. 2, 9, xxii. 4, 18, xxiv. 15; but also xv. 2, Num. v. 12, ix. 10); 'bread of God' (xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21, 22, xxii. 25; but also with slight variation Num. xxviii. 2); a peculiar term for 'neighbour,' viz. עֵמִית (xviii. 20, xix. 11, 15, 17, xxiv. 19, xxv. 14; but also v. 21); 'my Sabbaths' (xix. 3, 30, xxvi. 2; but also Exod. xxxi. 13); a technical term for 'near of kin,' viz. שָׂרָר (xviii. 12, 13, 17, xx. 19, xxi. 2; but also Num. xxvii. 11). A third class of peculiarities is composed of words which are common enough in the older documents of the Hexateuch, but which are absent in P. Thus in Lev. xx. 24 we have אֲדָמָה 'ground,' whereas P speaks of אֶרֶץ 'earth'; אִמָּה 'female slave' (xxv. 6, 44), for which P has שִׁפְכָה; לֵב 'heart' (xix. 17, xxvi. 36, 41), for which P has לָב, 'flowing with milk and honey' (xx. 24), a poetical description of Palestine common in the two oldest documents and Deuteronomy, but avoided, as was to be expected, in P. The reader who has some knowledge of Hebrew will be able to make these lists much more complete by reading the concluding chapter, viz. xxvi., with attention. There the linguistic phenomena are specially remarkable. It contains about eight words, or collocations of words, found nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. נָפַל לַחֶרֶב 'fall by the sword' (7, 8), 'nay, but even thus' וְאֵף נָם זֹאת (44), others which do not occur elsewhere in the Hexateuch, e.g. 'break the staff of bread' (26), and 'with none to make them afraid.' The last example is common in the prophets and poets, which makes its presence here, its absence from the rest of the Hexateuch, all the more noteworthy.

γ. *The matter of the legislation as compared with that of P.*

The 'Law of Holiness' claims like P to have been given on Sinai: its aim like that of P is priestly and theocratic: it lays the greatest stress on ritual correctness, and endeavours with anxious care to secure the ceremonial purity of the Israelites; yet even here there are differences. The 'Law of Holiness' does

not take any pains to maintain the illusion that it was addressed to the Hebrews in the desert. It never speaks of the sanctuary as the 'tent of meeting': it assumes without reserve the actual existence of agricultural life (xix. 9, *seq.* 19, *seq.*). So also, notwithstanding the predominance of ritual, the humane spirit asserts itself more strongly than in P. When our Lord quotes the law of love to God from Deuteronomy, He unites it with another commandment—the love of our neighbour; and it is from the 'Law of Holiness' that He draws this second commandment, though, no doubt, He gave to the word 'neighbour' a wider and deeper meaning than any of which Hebrew legislators had dreamt. But it is in the particular enactments that the differences between the 'Law of Holiness' and P become most definite and tangible.

The 'Law of Holiness' recognises a high priest in the later or post-exilic sense. In other words, it places over the other clergy one who is not merely a chief official, but one who is endowed with special sanctity, and who therefore has special obligations. Because Yahwè 'sanctifies him' in an altogether unique manner, therefore he, unlike the ordinary priests, must not approach the corpse even of his nearest kin, and he may not marry any woman who is not a virgin (xxi. 10 *seq.*). At the same time whereas in P. the high priest stands to his subordinates as a father to sons, in the 'Law of Holiness' his relation to them is that of a brother (xxi. 10). He is thus still regarded as *primus inter pares*, though of course the transition to the more exact language of P. is easy and imminent.

The sin and guilt offerings are conspicuous by their absence from the 'Law of Holiness,' and all sacrifices (xvii. 8, 9) are comprehended under the great division of burnt-offerings and sacrifices in which the offerer partook (עֹלָה and זֶבַח). Nor is the classification of the latter kind so complete as it is in P. It is true that in contrast to Deuteronomy xii. the freewill offerings and offering due by vow are in xxii. 18, 21 placed under the general rubric of holocausts and peace-offerings; but

in xxii. 29 (comp. xix. 5), the sacrifice of thanksgiving still remains apart. In P (Lev. vii. 15, which, however, belongs to a secondary stratum of P) the todāh or sacrifice of thanksgiving is included under peace-offerings.

It is very strange to find the 'Law of Holiness' upholding the ancient rule that all slaughter of animals fit for the altar was to be sacrificial (xvii. 3 *seq.*), though of course only one place of sacrifice is permitted. This is in amazing contradiction, not only to P (Gen. ix. 2, 3, Lev. vii. 23, *seq.*), but also to Deuteronomy xii. 15 *seq.* Probably the legislator was thinking of Israel as a small band of exiles returned to their home, and all living in Jerusalem and its environs.

P makes a clear and very practical distinction (Num. xviii. 9 *seq.*) between things which are holy and things which are most holy. Of gifts in which the offerer had no share, there are some with respect to which God foregoes His rights entirely and makes all over to the priest. In this case nothing is burnt on the altar. These may be eaten in any clean place by male or female members of priestly families, provided that they are free from ceremonial defilement. In this case the gifts are simply holy, not most holy, and this class includes the firstborn of cattle, first fruits, tithes, etc. Very different are the 'most holy' gifts, such as the shew-bread, the flour offering or mincha, the sin and guilt offerings. There a part is offered by fire to Yahwè.¹ It is only the remnant which he concedes to the priests. None save males of the priestly race may eat of that remnant, and even they are not allowed to eat it except within the sanctuary. The 'Law of Holiness,' xxii. 1-16, expressly treats of the holy gifts and the conditions under which they may be eaten, but shows no sign of acquaintance with the distinction between 'holy' and 'most holy' things.

When we turn to the festal calendar in the 'Law of Holiness'

¹ This is true even of the shew-bread. The incense laid upon it was burnt as the part directly appropriated by Yahwè.

(Lev. xxiii), we find an obvious advance on the view taken in the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deuteronomy. Not only the feast of Passover but also that of Tabernacles is commemorative of an event in the early history of God's people. Moreover the sacrifices are not wholly left to private devotion. Certain offerings, though on a small scale, are made by rule and in the name of the whole nation. Nevertheless, the number of the feasts is still limited to three: the feast of Passover, with which that of unleavened bread is united; the feast of Weeks; the feast of Tabernacles. But we have still to consider the most vital point of difference. In P the feasts are attached to fixed dates (see Numbers xxviii. xxix.): in the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xxiii.), they are moveable, because they still retain their old agricultural character. The Passover is celebrated by waving a sheaf on the day after the first Sabbath in the harvest. Seven weeks after that same Sabbath an offering is made of loaves from the fresh grain. The feast of Tabernacles is celebrated, not as in P on the fifteenth of the seventh month, but simply at the time, more or less indeterminate, when the fruit harvest is gathered in. It consists essentially in the old jocund life under booths in the open field. Then the Israelite is to rejoice before his God with fair branches and goodly fruit in his hands.

The festal calendar starts from the weekly Sabbath, on which, by the way, the 'Law of Holiness' (xix. 3, 30, xxvi. 2) emphatically and repeatedly insists: it advances to the three yearly feasts: it culminates in the sacred years, viz., the Sabbatical year and the year of jubilee. The relations of the 'Law of Holiness' to these sacred years has been the occasion of serious dispute, but the chief difficulties seem now to admit at least of probable solution. In the 'Book of the Covenant' we have nothing that really answers to the Sabbatical year, which is indeed unknown to pre-exilic times. We do, however, find the germ of the institution. Each landowner is to leave his field fallow every seventh year (Exodus xxiii. 10), abandoning

the natural growth to the poor and to the beasts of the field. This involved no hardship: the land, in an age when the succession of crops was not thought of, would benefit by the rest, and as the time for leaving the land fallow would be different in different places, no danger of famine would arise. Afterwards when trade was in part replacing agriculture, the Deuteronomist (xv. 1-11) instituted 'a year of release' in which all debts were to be remitted; an impossible rule, and one which always remained more or less a dead letter. Now the 'Law of Holiness' (xxv. 2^b-7, 19-22) recurs to the rule laid down in the 'Book of the Covenant.' It is the land which is to rest from tillage, and not the debtor from exaction. But the real nature of the old custom is changed. The whole land is to rest simultaneously: a motive of mechanical sanctity lies at the base of the enactment, for the soil is to keep 'a Sabbath for Yahwè'; during the exile (xxvi. 34) the land is to 'enjoy' the Sabbaths of which it had been defrauded by the Israelites: miraculous plenty on the sixth year is to make the rest on the seventh endurable. But the year of release is also represented in the 'Law of Holiness,' though here, too, the original institution is seriously changed. It reappears as the jubilee, which is to be kept every fiftieth year. Then (xxv. 8, 10) a general 'release' is to be proclaimed for the land and every Israelite who has sold his land is to return to the possession of his fathers. A late stratum of P, which has been inserted in the 'Law of Holiness' (xxv. 11, 12), subjects the year of jubilee to the rule made for the Sabbatical year. In this way the theocratic legislation betrays its theoretical character in the utmost degree. The forty-ninth and the fiftieth years have both become Sabbatical, so that an agricultural people is expected to let the whole of its land lie fallow during two successive years.

(2) *Integrity and Unity of the 'Law of Holiness.'*

(a.) The law with which we are concerned is imbedded in the
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Priestly Code, and all analogy would lead us to expect that it was not removed to this subordinate position without internal change. We need not, however, dwell upon this part of the subject. The notes on the text of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. will, it is hoped, suffice to explain the grounds on which certain portions of these chapters are separated from the 'Law of Holiness.' Something must be attributed to the hand of the editor who incorporated the little body of law and introduced its various divisions with titles of his own, making at the same time occasional additions to the text. This, however, is not all the change which has been made. Large pieces of the later Priestly Code have been introduced into the texture of the older law, and in the case of the festal calendar and the law of jubilee this process has been carried so far that fragments only of the older law remain.

(β.) We cannot then take for granted that everything contained within the compass of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. belongs to the 'Law of Holiness.' But can we on the other hand find fragments of the 'Law of Holiness' outside of Lev. xvii.—xxvi. ? Klostermann and all who have followed him in the investigation of this subject have answered this question in the affirmative. They have, however, differed very widely as to the number and extent of these fragments, nor does it seem possible to reach a definite and exhaustive conclusion. Nevertheless, there are a few fragments which we may with confidence assign to the 'Law of Holiness.'

First in Lev. xx. 25 *seq.*, reference is made by implication to a law on clean and unclean beasts which is not given in the context. Turning to Lev. xi. 43-45, we find a fragment, apparently the conclusion, of a law on this very matter which bears the most obvious likeness to the code in Lev. xvii.—xxvi. We have the prominence of the divine personality, 'I am Yahwè your God,' 'I am Yahwè who brought you up' (perhaps originally 'brought you forth') 'from the land of Egypt': we have the repeated reference to 'holiness,' and besides all this the whole structure

of this fragment of legislation, its hortatory character and enforcement of a precept by motive, separate it from P, and connect it with the 'Law of Holiness.' The same characteristics recur in the ordinance on fringes, Num. xv. 37-41.

We cannot be sure about other supposed fragments of the little code. True, we meet with the divine 'I' in Exod. vi. 6-8, xii. 12^b, xxix. 38-46, xxxi. 13; Num. iii. 12, 13, x. 8-10. But in Exod. vi. 6-8, xxix. 38-46, xxxi. 13, the turn of the expression, 'You shall know,' etc., 'that I am Yahwè,' reminds one much more of Ezekiel than of the 'Law of Holiness.' In Num. iii. 12, 13, the mention of the Levites certainly points to another source. The ordinance on blowing trumpets (Num. x. 8-10) before battle and on feasts has strong linguistic affinities with the 'Law of Holiness,' though there are also decided points of difference. Yet no room can be found for such an enactment in the 'Law of Holiness,' so far at least as it is known to us. Possibly P has used in this place some ancient code akin to the 'Law of Holiness,' but not identical with it.

It must be remembered, however, that many scholars are much more free in assigning passages of the Hexateuch to the 'Law of Holiness.' Thus besides the passages which have been assigned above to this code, viz. Lev. xi. 43 *seq.*, Num. xv. 37-41, Dr. Driver (*Introd.* p. 143) regards Exod. vi. 6-8, xii. 12, 13, xxxi. 13, 14^a, Lev. x. 9^a, 10, 11, as fragments of this code, while Cornill is of opinion that in Lev. xii., xiii. 1-46, xiv. 1-8^a, xv.; Num. v. 11-31, vi. 2-8, xix., P has been expanding and altering material drawn from the 'Law of Holiness.' It is really impossible either to prove or refute this theory of Cornill's.

(7.) Hitherto we have been dealing with an older code imbedded in later legislation. But it is to be observed that this little code had a history of its own before it was united with other documents. It is itself a compilation, and betrays its composite origin. How else can we explain the frequent repetitions in Lev. xvii.—xxvi.? For example, the command to leave the gleanings for the poor, given in xix. 9, is repeated almost

verbally in xxiii. 22. Other cases of the same kind will be found, if we compare xvii. 10-14 with xix. 26^a, xix. 30 with xxvi. 2^a, xix. 4^a with xxvi. 1^a, xix. 15^a with 35^a, xix. 26^b, 31 with xx. 6, 27. Only on the hypothesis of composite origin can we account for the existence of chapters xviii. and xx. side by side. The former chapter forbids different kinds of unchastity, the latter imposes penalty for sins of the same kind, but the lists are not quite identical, while the order in which the crimes are enumerated, is altogether different. It is inconceivable that an original legislator should have separated offence and punishment in this manner. Whether it is possible to separate the code into component parts which were originally separate, is another matter. Bäntsch has employed great industry and ingenuity in the attempt, and it will be convenient to give his results here, though it is impossible to state his reasons at length, and to examine their validity. To some extent these reasons will appear indirectly in the next section of this essay. Here it will be enough to say that he regards the 'Law of Holiness' as composed of three separate compilations made at different dates. The earliest is represented by xviii.—xx., xxiii. 9-12, 15-17, 18^a, 19^b, 20, 22, xxiv. 15-22, xxv. 1-7, 14, 17, 18-22, 23, 24, 35-38, xxvi. 1, 2. The second stratum consists of xxi., xxii., the third of xvii. Bäntsch believes that the address of encouragement and warning appended to the code (xxvi. 3 *seq.*) was originally independent of it, and that it was adapted by certain alterations for its present position.

(3) *The date of the 'Law of Holiness.'*

The compiler of this law, says Dr. Driver (in his critical edition of the Hebrew text of Leviticus) 'cannot be separated very widely in time from the priestly prophet Ezekiel, about 570 B.C.' A superabundance of reasons conspires to put this general date beyond the least shadow of doubt. In the whole

scope of its legislation the 'Law of Holiness' presupposes the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deuteronomy, while it is just as clearly anterior to P. Further, the resemblance in language and literary style to those of Ezekiel is so close that for a time many scholars held Ezekiel himself for the author of the code. This theory, which failed to take sufficient account of the differences which accompany these similarities, is now seen to be untenable. Nevertheless, critics of name never would have fallen into this mistake, had it not been for points of contact, which, though they do not prove the compiler's identity with Ezekiel, leave no escape from the conclusion that both belonged, more or less, to the same age and the same school.

But can we determine the time more exactly? Have we grounds for thinking that the compilation was made a little before or a little after Ezekiel's time? Different replies have been made to the question. We shall probably be better able to give a satisfactory answer if we follow Bäntsch's method and consider the various sections of the code, each by itself.

Let us, then, begin with ch. xviii.—xx., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxvi., 1, 2. In these passages we have miscellaneous precepts of an ethical character, special prohibition of unchastity and incestuous marriages, and finally rules for the feasts and sacred seasons. Three of these chapters, viz. : xviii.—xx. are especially connected with Ezekiel xviii., xx., xxii., xxxiii. Here the priority seems to belong to the legislator and not to the prophet. For Ezekiel, in the chapters mentioned, is not laying down a law : rather he takes for granted recognised rules such as those furnished in the 'Law of Holiness,' and by this standard he judges the actual morality current in Israel. Moreover, in these chapters and nowhere else Ezekiel uses the formula, 'I am Yahwè your God' independently, *i.e.* without a preceding clause, 'Ye shall know that,' or the like, to which it is subordinate ; and of this the reasonable explanation surely is that he was influenced by the code which he had in his mind at the moment. Again it is scarcely credible that the orderly series of laws in Lev. xviii. and xx. grew

out of the scattered and unmethodical references to the subject-matter of those laws in Ezekiel. We are reduced to an alternative. The resemblances of language are so numerous and close that ideas and words must have been borrowed on the one side or the other, and everything tends to vindicate the originality of the legislator. If, further, we compare the legislation on feasts and sacrifices in Lev. xxiii. with that in Ezekiel xlv. 18 *seq.*, we see at a glance how much nearer the 'Law of Holiness' stands to ancient usage. In it, as has been shown, the feasts keep much of their old connection with the agricultural life. The dates for the feasts are still somewhat indefinite, because they depend on the different stages of the harvest. In Ezekiel, on the contrary, they are assigned to fixed days of particular months. The Feast of Tabernacles, for instance, is to be celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh month; whereas, according to the 'Law of Holiness,' it is to be kept at the time of the fruit harvest. It is still more important to note that the sin-offering prominent in Ezekiel is unknown to the 'Law of Holiness,' a fact which would of itself go a long way to prove the priority of the latter. If, then, this conclusion be accepted, Lev. xviii.—xx., etc., *i.e.* those parts of the 'Law of Holiness' which deal with unchastity and incest and the general precepts of morality, as also with feasts and sacrifices, must have been compiled between 621, the date of Deuteronomy, and 591, the date for the earliest of those prophecies of Ezekiel which we have been considering. We may add that the 'Law of Holiness' cannot fail to be considerably later than Deuteronomy, so that the margin of uncertainty about the date is very narrow. We may conjecture that the 'Law of Holiness' was put together in the dark days after Josiah's fatal defeat at Megiddo in 609, amidst the wreck of national life, the apparent defeat of prophetic religion and the recrudescence of Molech worship and sorcery. I have been careful to speak of the compiler, not the author, of the laws in xviii.—xx., etc. Ezekiel seems to have used both Lev. xviii. and Lev. xx. and to have read them together, though the two chapters must have had

an independent origin. We cannot fix with the same precision the time at which each was written.

To some extent at least the relations of time between Ezekiel and our code are reversed, if we fix our attention on the law of the priests and holy gifts in Lev. xxi., xxii. There is indeed nothing in Ezekiel so closely allied in language and thought to these chapters of Leviticus that we must presuppose borrowing on the one side or the other. But we have seen that the 'Law of Holiness' acknowledges in a very marked manner the superior sanctity of 'the priest,' *i.e.* the high priest. Ezekiel (see xlv. 18 *seq.*) makes no such distinction. To him, 'the priest' is simply the chief functionary at the temple, and he does not even hint that any special holiness was attached to his person, or was required of him in his life. On the other hand, Ezekiel makes much of the 'Nasi' or 'prince.' The 'prince' is the bond which links the prophet of the exile to the old national history, but in Lev. xxi. 10-15 this bond is severed. The legislator is intent on building up a theocracy in which the chief priest is the supreme native ruler, and in which there is no room, or soon will be no room, for a 'prince.' Israel, having lost its political autonomy, is ceasing to be a nation and is becoming a church.

Of Lev. xvii., which prescribes the place of sacrifice, we can only say that it contemplates a state of things in which the Hebrew population in Palestine was shrunk into a small number living in and near Jerusalem. The idea of requiring every beast that was slain to be brought to the one sanctuary could hardly present itself except under these circumstances or with that prospect. We cannot tell whether the author wrote before or after Ezekiel. Unlike the prophet (xlv. 19), he assumes that the layman may himself bring the victim to 'Yahwè before his tabernacle.' The author, therefore, cannot have thought of Ezekiel's distinction between outer and inner court. From this, however, no certain inference as to date can be drawn. Ezekiel, after all, was planning a temple for the

future: the legislator's imagination was wandering back to the temple which had been.

The linguistic resemblance to Ezekiel reaches its culminating point in the concluding exhortation, xxvi. 3-45. Ezekiel did not write it, for it contains some very peculiar expressions of common ideas which do not occur in Ezekiel's prophecies, or indeed anywhere in the Old Testament. Such are the Hebrew words used for 'threshing' in ver. 5, for 'walk contrariwise' in vv. 21, 23 *seq.*, 27 *seq.*, 40 *seq.*, for 'upright' in ver. 13, for 'causing to pine away' in ver. 16, for 'faintness' ver. 36, 'power to stand' ver. 37, and the construction in the phrase, 'fall by the sword' ver. 7. Even the theology differs in one point from that of Ezekiel, for in ver. 39 *seq.* we have that very notion of inherited penalty which the prophet in xiv. 13 *seq.*, xviii., xxxiii. expressly repudiates. At the same time the resemblances go far beyond anything which can be attributed to chance or to the fact that the two authors were contemporaries, living in the same moral and spiritual air. In Lev. xxvi. 3-45 there are, according to Kuen. § 15, n. 10., twenty-two words or collocations of words which occur also in Ezekiel but nowhere else in the Old Testament, and thirteen more which occur in Ezekiel, and also in Lev. xxvi., but nowhere else in the Pentateuch. Here again, as with respect to Lev. xviii.—xx. (see above) there must have been imitation on one side or the other. It cannot, however, have been Ezekiel who imitated the author of Lev. xxvi. We cannot believe that a prophet of marked originality and individuality of style slavishly copied the turns of expression and thought in a short piece such as Lev. xxvi., and then made occasional use of them in the course of a long collection of prophecies written at various dates. But we may believe, without doing any discredit to the author of Lev. xxvi., that his mind was permeated by the ideas and style of Ezekiel, and that in his fine and powerful exhortation to the exiles he shows his intimate acquaintance with the work of his master. The purpose of the speech is quite consistent with the theory that its author was a student of Ezekiel and enables

us to fix the date with a little more precision. It implies, ver. 36 *seq.*, that the exile—and here there can be no question that the Babylonian exile is intended—was an accomplished fact. The land has to enjoy the Sabbath rest which it had failed to obtain in the legitimate manner. Nevertheless, we must not go beyond the exile for the date which we seek. Israel is not yet restored, for it is the evident design of the author in ver. 40 *seq.* to cheer the exiles with the hope of return.

To sum up. The 'Law of Holiness' was compiled from older material during the exile. Some of its proposals, *e.g.* the rule that all slaughter of cattle should take place at the temple, proved impossible. Others needed revision and development. Hence the 'Law of Holiness' was replaced by the 'Priestly Code,' which was fuller, more explicit, more consistent with itself, and more thoroughly fitted to the ritualistic spirit of Israel after the exile. Nevertheless, the scribes were not willing that the 'Law of Holiness' should be utterly forgotten. Hence they preserved it in the main, making, however, serious interpolations in its text, and placing that text in the midst of the newer and larger code. When was this union effected? Certainly before Ezra's proclamation of the law in B.C. 444. This follows clearly from Neh. viii. 14 *seq.*, which admittedly belongs to the original memoirs of Nehemiah, and possesses the highest authority as historical evidence. There we read that the Jews kept the Feast of Tabernacles according to the law which Ezra had read to them, and as it had never been kept before since Joshua's time. The historian calls special attention to two points in which the new observance conformed to the law; viz., first, the dwelling in booths which is prescribed by the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xxiii. 42), and next, the solemn assembly on the eighth day, which is prescribed by the 'Priestly Code' (Lev. xxiii. 36; comp. Num. xxix. 12 *seq.*). Of course it does not follow that Ezra himself united the smaller and the larger code, much less that he did so in 444. From 458, when he reached Jerusalem, to 444, when he published the law, Ezra was engaged in a struggle for the life of religion. Hostile eyes

were upon him, and he had little leisure for the work of codification, and little chance of persuading the Israelites to recognise a compilation just made by himself as the law of Moses. It is far more likely that he brought the code with him from Babylon, and it may well have been over fifty years old when he read it to the people. His position was analogous to that of Josiah with respect to Deuteronomy. Like him he imposed on others a law which he did not frame or even compile, but received in good faith from others. Only, however, at this single point does the analogy hold. Ezra, though he did not write the law, was a priest and a scribe trained in the principles of Ezekiel, and in that school where the law had its birth. He could not hope for the power which belonged to Josiah, and it was only after an almost desperate struggle, and after Nehemiah came to the rescue, that he brought the new Israel under the dominion of the 'Priestly Code.'

B. SECONDARY STRATA IN THE 'PRIESTLY CODE' (*i.e.* P).

The following list of characteristic features which distinguish the later strata of the 'Priestly Code' is taken in substance from Holzinger (*Einleit. Hexat.* i. p. 418 *seq.*). In the notes on the text I have given at length the reasons which justify us in separating the passages which contain these marks from the original framework of the code.

(1.) As time went on the ritual was made more complicated and impressive. Thus the 'Altar of Incense' is of later introduction. The code at first had spoken of 'the altar' (Exod. xxvii.) because it recognised one altar only, viz. the altar of brass in the court of the tabernacle. Incense was to be offered on pans, the coals being taken from the brazen altar (Lev. x. 1 *seq.*; Num. xvi. *seq.*). The 'brazen sea' or laver (Exod. xxx. 17-21) may have formed part of the tabernacle furniture, as P conceived of it; but the special mention made of it seems to proceed from a later writer, seeing that nothing is said about it at the natural

place in the directions given to Moses, and the mention of it is appended to these directions as if by an after-thought. Again, while in P the 'High Priest' alone is anointed, as his title the 'Messiah' or 'anointed one' imports (see Exod. xxix. 7, 29, 30; Lev. viii. 12, etc.), in secondary portions of the law (Exod. xxviii. 41, etc.), this holy unction is extended to all the priests. Nay, unction is applied even to inanimate things, viz. to the tabernacle and its furniture (Lev. viii. 10 *seq.*, in contrast to Exod. xxix.); and, on the other hand, rites previously reserved for sacrificial things, namely sprinkling with blood and waving, are now (Lev. viii. 23 *seq.*, 30, against Lev. ix.) used in the case of persons. So also the manipulation of the sacrificial blood becomes more prominent. In its older sections, with regard to sin-offerings for the people or the High Priest, the law simply orders the blood to be put on the horns of 'the altar,' *i.e.* the brazen altar (Exod. xxix. 10 *seq.*; Lev. ix. 8 *seq.*); but according to Lev. iv. the blood is to be put on the altar of incense, and to be sprinkled seven times in front of the sanctuary veil. On the day of atonement (Lev. xvi.) the blood is to be brought within the Holy of Holies. Similarly, the purification with the ashes of a red cow (Num. xix.) seems to be an extension of the older law for the reinstatement of an Israelite who had incurred ceremonial pollution.

(2.) P, despite its absorption in ritual, is not a manual for priestly use. It serves popular ends. It traces the history of sacred institutions in Israel, and describes their general bearing, without attempting an exhaustive statement of details. Later writers aimed at greater completeness. In Numb. xxviii., xxix., they have supplied a complete enumeration of daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly sacrifices, with the precise number and kind of the requisite victims. We find in Lev. xxvii. rules for the valuation of persons and things, and in Num. v. 5-10 the solution of a casuistical difficulty about restitution to the sanctuary. In Num. ix. 1-14 provision is made for those who are unable to keep the Passover at the legal time.

(3.) The burden of religious service is increased. The single daily burnt-offering (comp. Ezek. xlvi. 13-15) is doubled in Exod. xxix. 38-42, Lev. vi. 1-6, Num. xxviii. 3-8. The tithe from vegetable produce (Num. xviii. 21-32) is extended to herds and flocks (Lev. xxvii. 32). The Jew is forbidden, not only to eat, but even to touch certain unclean animals (Lev. xi. 24-40).

(4.) The additions to the narrative portions of P are neither so numerous nor important. They are mostly laws in disguise. Thus Lev. x. 16-20 is a story told to reconcile the older rule implied in ix. 15 with the later one laid down in Lev. iv. In Lev. xxiv. 10-14, 23, the law on the punishment of blasphemy is put in the form of a decision on a particular case. Num. xxxi. is more fanciful, more like a late Jewish legend, and is perhaps designed to give Moses the one glory which the 'Priestly' narrator had failed to give him, viz. martial glory. Nevertheless even here the narrative ends with religious solemnities, and a rule for the division of booty. The character of Gen. xiv. is so peculiar that it deserves to be considered apart. See the notes there.

(5) On the whole the language of P in all its stages is the same. Still there are some linguistic peculiarities in the later strata. Such as חנכה, 'dedication' (never in P but in late authors, Ezra vi. 16 *seq.*; Nehemiah xii. 27; 2 Chronicles vii. 9; Daniel iii. 2 *seq.*); כסוי, 'covering,' only Numbers iv. 6, 14; יֵשׁ אִשׁר, 'sometimes also,' Numbers ix. 20, and nowhere else except Nehemiah v. 2 *seq.*; לֶחֶם הַחַמִּיד, 'continual bread,' only Numbers iv. 7; שֶׁלֶחַן הַפְּנִים, Num. iv. 7, and there only.

C. THE FINAL REDACTION OF THE HEXATEUCH, *i.e.* THE UNION OF THE OLDEST DOCUMENTS (THE JAHVIST AND ELOHIST) AND THE DEUTERONOMICAL CODE AND HISTORY WITH THE 'PRIESTLY' NARRATIVE AND CODE.

A little has been said on this subject in vol. i. p. xcii *seq.* A few additional remarks will be made here.

Throughout I have spoken not of the Pentateuch but of the Hexateuch. It was necessary to do so, because the documents which we have been considering run not only through the five books which were afterwards known as the five books of Moses, but also to the end of the Book of Joshua. Nevertheless, although for critical purposes the Hexateuch is a legitimate and convenient name, it never existed as one composite work. That is, the editor who welded together P and the older documents cut them short at the death of Moses. It was a distinct editor who took the account of the conquest in the various documents, P included, and moulded them into our present Book of Joshua. This seems to be established on the following grounds :

(a) Ezra bound the people to the law of Moses. He cannot therefore have set before them a document which contained the history of the people, after Moses according to the record itself was dead and buried. In all probability he published the whole of the Pentateuch (see vol. i. p. xciii) without, of course, those later additions to P of which I have just spoken. But even if he only published the 'Priestly' document, at all events it was P truncated of all those portions which continued the history after the death of Moses and which are partly preserved in the book of Joshua.

(β) The methods pursued in the compilation of the Pentateuch and in the compilation of the Book of Joshua are not only distinct, but in one vital point opposite. The compiler of the Pentateuch always makes P his basis, so that critics used very naturally to speak of P as the *Grundschrift* or fundamental document. There would indeed be no objection to this title, if it did not suggest the idea that P was used as a foundation by the older writers (the Jahvist, Elohist, etc.) and not simply by the final editor of the Pentateuch. Hence the older documents had to give way when they contradicted P, and the editor has been careful to preserve P almost entire. This last

statement must be qualified by a few exceptions, for when a full and vivid story had been told by the Jahvist or Elohist, the compiler, with all his reverence for the 'Priestly Writer,' could not always think it desirable or even possible to add his favourite author's dry and summary notice of the same event. Thus it comes that we have lost the beginning of Abraham's history in P; his account of Esau's and Jacob's birth, of Jacob's experience in Padan Aram; of the reason for Jacob's new name, Israel; of Rachel's burial; of Moses' and Aaron's call; probably, also, he related the promulgation of the Decalogue, though this part of his narrative has been displaced by that of the Elohist. These instances, however, are few, and of small moment. The principles of P dominate the Pentateuch, and his work supplies the chronological framework into which the older accounts are fitted. It is altogether different in Joshua. In the first twelve chapters only a few fragments of P have secured a place, though here and there the language of the older documents has been modified in the style of P. In the latter part of the book P is allowed considerable space; yet even there his view that the land was divided once and for all at Shiloh is abandoned in favour of an older view that the chief tribes, Judah and the house of Joseph, received their territory first, and the other tribes later. When the compiler of Joshua was at work, the history of the conquest had as yet no canonical authority and could therefore be dealt with more freely.

(γ) As those parts of the documents which treated of the history down to the death of Moses, and those alone, were invested in Ezra's time and long afterwards with canonical authority, it was the Pentateuch alone which the Samaritans received from the Jews in the fourth century B.C. and still regard as sacred Scripture. Moreover, it was among the writings of the prophets, not among the five books of the law, to which it was closely akin by origin, that Joshua was put when it finally won a place in the Jewish canon. And it was perhaps

out of reverence for the law, always the sacred book κατ' ἐξοχήν, that the Massoretic scribes maintained a delusive appearance of archaic writing in the forms of a few words (הוא and נער for both genders, etc.) without attempting anything of the sort in Joshua.

NOTE

The main body of the 'Priestly' Document is printed in ordinary type thus :—

These are the generations of the heavens and the earth.

An older document, generally known as the 'Law of Holiness,' and incorporated in the 'Priestly' Code, is printed in black type thus :—

I am Yahwè your God.

Later amplifications of the 'Priestly' Document have been printed in Italic type thus :—

Now these are the names of the children of Israel.

These amplifications are made to the law itself and occasionally also to the narrative portions. They are by several hands and of various dates. Sometimes, also, instead of being mere amplifications of existing matter, they are large and independent additions, always, however, conceived in the 'Priestly' spirit and style. Nor can they be always distinguished from additions made by the final compiler and editor of the *Hexateuch*, which are printed in the same type.

THE PRIESTLY HISTORY AND LAW

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.¹

¹ 'The creation of the world.' This account of the creation cannot be from the same hand as that given in vol. i. p. 1 *seq.* There we have the sacred name 'Yahwè' (Yahwè Elohim), here 'God' (Elohim); there man is made first of all living creatures, here last; there man is made, and then woman from man, here man and woman are made at once; and besides these differences in detail, to which others might be added, there is a marked difference in the whole spirit of the two writers. Here we have the orderly development of the world as it is, and the origin of man as we know him. There we are placed in a mythical garden, where Yahwè walks, a serpent speaks, a tree supplies the means of escaping death, etc., etc. As to language we find here 'create' בָּרָא often in this section, never in the Jahvist cosmogony, 'wild beast,' literally 'beast of the earth' (so Gen. ix. 2-10), for which the 'Oldest Book' has 'beast of the field,' 'male and female,' 'after his kind,' etc. (but also in Deut. xiv.), 'swarm' שָׂרָץ, (but also Deut. xiv.) 'creeping thing,' 'subdue,' 'for food,' 'increase and multiply.' All these expressions are characteristic of the 'Priestly Writer,' and even the occurrence of one or two in Deut. xiv. does not impair their significance as marks of P, Deut. xiv. being itself from a 'Priestly' source. The cosmogony i. 1-11. 4^b presupposes some older source. In this source creation, instead of being divided into six days, was divided into eight separate acts. The old framework remains in the account as it stands at present. We still have the eight acts of creation each introduced by the words, 'God said.' These are: (1.) the creation of light, (2.) of the firmament dividing the heavenly and earthly waters, (3.) the division of sea from land, (4.) the production of plants, (5.) the creation of the heavenly bodies, (6.) the creation of fish and birds, (7.) the creation of the land animals, (8.) of man. The division into days was an after-thought intended to explain the origin and sanctity of the Sabbath, and the new arrangement clearly betrays its secondary character. The third and fourth works have been united, though quite distinct; so have the seventh and eighth, while the form of approval, 'God saw that it was good' is used twice on the third day, and twice on the sixth. Moreover, the first and second days with due succession of evening and morning are placed before the creation of the heavenly bodies. So far all is plain, and the case was clearly put by Ilgen

(*Urkunden*, pp. 2-4) in 1798. Even Ilgen was, according to Wellhausen, anticipated by Gabler and Ziegler. It is much harder to explain the origin of the prior arrangement, viz. that into creative acts. According to Wellh. even the prior framework (the division into acts or words) belongs to the 'Priestly Writer.' In the original form of his narrative the only mention of days was at the close, viz. in ii. 1-3, which, cleared from interpolation, runs thus: 'So the heavens and the earth and all their host were finished and God finished his work which he had made, on the seventh day and God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.' Thus according to the original scheme of the 'Priestly Writer' man was made on the seventh day. The account in its present form comes from a later editor of the 'Priestly' document. But it is a fatal objection to this reconstruction of Wellhausen's that it gives no reason for the hallowing of the Sabbath. Was man to rest then because on that day he was made? The Old Testament nowhere refers to any such reason. Far more probable is the theory of other scholars, e.g. Ewald, Dillm., etc., that the 'Priestly Writer' borrowed the arrangement in eight creative acts from an independent document, and into this dovetailed somewhat unsuccessfully his own arrangement in six days followed by a day of rest. Budde (*Bibl. Urgesch.*, pp. 470-496) surmised that the scheme of creation in eight acts first appeared in a later edition of the Jahvist, who in turn had taken it from a Babylonian source. This suggestion, which has commended itself to Holzinger, cannot be proved, but is far from unlikely. We should then find the 'Priestly Writer' dealing with an older creation story, just as he undoubtedly did deal with an older flood myth. It is not his way to be original.

The basis of the creation story, as of that of the Jahvist (see vol. i.), is heathen, and especially Babylonian, though there is no reason to think that the author of Gen. i. borrowed directly from any cuneiform writing. Unfortunately the Babylonian epic of creation has come down to us in a mutilated and confused form. But the Babylonian epic uses the word *teāmat*, which is only another form of the Hebrew word, translated 'deep,' the formula 'he made them good' is twice repeated; the firmament, the upper and lower ocean, the formation of the heavenly bodies to mark time, the creation of man, appear in it, as well as in the 'Priestly' document. The land animals are divided into three classes, as in Gen. i. So the word 'brooding,' used of the divine spirit, may be a recollection of the Semitic idea which appears in Phœnician mythology, that the world came from an egg. We must not, however, forget that in a religious point of view the Hebrew is immeasurably superior to all heathen cosmogonies. The 'Priestly Writer' believes in one God who transcends the world, regards the world as created by His will, not as an emanation from Him, and looks on man, who is made in God's image, as the end of creation; he knows nothing of a contest between the gods and *Teāmat*, the monster of the deep, much less does he admit that some gods took part with *Teāmat*. And though it is a mistake to attempt any harmony of Gen. i. with physical science, still the sobriety and reasonableness of the picture given is due to the ethical monotheism of the later Hebrews, due in fact to divine revelation.

GEN. II. 4*. These are the generations¹ of the heavens and the earth, when they were created. I. 1. In the beginning² God created the heavens and the earth, 2. now the earth was waste and void and darkness was on the face of the deep and the Spirit of God brooded over the face of the waters. 3. Then God said, Let there be light and there was light. 4. And God, seeing the light, found it good and God separated between the light and the darkness. 5. And God called the light day but the darkness he called night, and there was evening and there was morning a first day. 6. Then God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from each other. 7. So God made the firmament and divided between the waters which were under the firmament and the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. 8. And God called the firmament heavens. And there was evening³ and there was morning, a second day. 9. Then God

¹ 'These are the generations,' *i.e.* not 'This is the way in which they were produced,' but 'This is what they did produce,' *γένεσις*, not *γένεσις*. The word is characteristic of P and is always used as a superscription. The editor who united P with the 'Oldest Book' (JE) must therefore have moved the words from their place. P arranges the patriarchal history under ten Toledoth or generations, *viz.*: of the heavens and the earth; of Adam, v. 1; of Noah, vi. 9; of the sons of Noah, x. 1; of Shem, xi. 10; of Terah, xi. 27; of Abraham [omitted by final editor, but originally at head of the history of Abraham, xii. 5, etc.]; of Ishmael, xxv. 12; of Isaac, xxv. 19; of Esau, xxxvi. 9; of Jacob, xxxvii. 2.

² 'In the beginning.' Rashi's translation is grammatically permissible, 'In the beginning when God created, etc. (now the earth was, etc.), then God said, etc.' So Schrader and Budde. Comp. Hos. i. 2. But probably Smend is right in objecting to such an involved period as against the genius of Hebrew. For the absolute sense of *בראשית* comp. Isa. xl. 22, where *ראש* is similarly used, and *ἐν ἀρχῇ*, John i. 1. 'In the beginning' = first of all that was to follow.

³ 'There was evening,' etc. The first daylight was followed by darkness, which lasted till next daybreak—when the first day was over and the second began. Here, therefore, the day is reckoned from sunrise to sunrise. The usual Hebrew reckoning made the day last from evening to evening, and this was natural in a nation where the lunar month prevailed. The Babylonians counted the day from morning to morning, and perhaps this influence is perceptible here. See Nowack, *Hebr. Archæol.* i. p. 214. Comp. Lev. xxiii. 32, where the possibility of such a reckoning seems to be implied.

said, Let the waters which are beneath the heavens, be gathered together into one place, so that the dry land may appear: and it was so.¹ 10. And God called the dry land earth and the gathering of waters he called seas and God saw that it was good. 11. Then God said, Let the earth bring forth the green blade, plants yielding seed, fruit trees, bearing fruit in which their seed is contained, according to their kind, upon the earth: and it was so. 12. So the earth brought forth the green blade, the plants yielding seed according to their kind, and trees bearing fruit in which their seed is contained, according to their kind: and God saw that it was good. And there was evening and morning, a third day. 14. Then God said, Let there be lights² in the firmament of the heavens to divide between day and night, and they shall serve for signs and [to reckon] appointed times and days and years. 15. And they shall serve for lights in the firmament of the heavens to cast light upon the earth: and it was so. 16. And God made the two great lights, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars. 17. And God set them in the firmament of the heavens to cast light on the earth, 18. and to rule day and night and to divide between light and darkness: and God saw that it was good. 19. And there was evening and there was morning, a fourth day. 20. Then God said, Let the waters swarm with shoals of living things, and let birds fly over the earth in front of the firmament of the heavens. 21. So God

¹ 'It was so.' The words are placed here in LXX., and the position is justified by the analogy of vv. 9, 11, 15, 24. The Massoretic text has transferred them to the end of ver. 7.

² 'Lights.' These to the Hebrews, as to other ancient nations, were living beings (Judges v. 20, Job xxxviii. 7, Isa. xl. 26). Here, therefore, the second set of four creative acts begin. The two sets correspond to each. In 1 and 5 we have the creation of light and light-bearing creatures; in 2 and 6 the creation of the firmament which separates the heavenly from the terrestrial ocean, and that of birds which fly before the heavens, as well as of fish; in 3 and 7 the separation of land and creation of land animals; in 4 and 8 the complete equipment of the earth with grain and fruit, and the creation of man, who is for a period (*i.e.* till the flood) to feed upon them exclusively.

created the great sea-monsters and every living thing which moves, wherewith the waters swarm according to their kind and everything that flies with wings according to its kind, and God saw that this was good. 22. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply and fill the waters in the seas, and let the birds multiply on the earth. 23. And there was evening and there was morning, a fifth day. 24. Then God said, Let the earth bring forth living things according to their kind, cattle and creeping things and wild beasts according to their kind; and it was so. 25. So God made the wild beasts according to their kind and cattle according to their kind and all the creeping things of the ground according to their kind: and God saw that this was good.

26. Then God said, Let us¹ make men in our image according to our likeness and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the heavens, and over cattle and over all the earth and over every creeping thing that creeps on the earth. 27. So God created man in his image: in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. 28. And God blessed them and God said to them, Increase and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the heavens, and over every living thing that moves on the earth. 29. And God said, Behold, I give you every plant producing seed which is on the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed-containing fruit; let that serve you for food.² 30. But to all wild beasts and birds

¹ 'Let us.' That God, as Dillm. thinks, should here address himself as the complex of powers seems impossible. He might, no doubt, include 'the sons of God,' i.e. the angels, in this form of address (comp. Isa. vi. 8, where 'for us' includes the Seraphim), but angels are not mentioned here. Nor does God in the Hebrew Bible employ 'the plural of majesty' common in the Koran. Can it be, as Budde suggests (*Urgesch.* p. 484), a last trace of language derived from the polytheistic Babylonian myth? The 'image of God' is not ethical, as in the New Testament. It exhibits itself chiefly in rule over nature.

² 'For food.' The food of the first pair was, according to the Jahvist, fruit only (ii. 16, iii. 18): here corn is added. But neither man or beast is as yet to feed on flesh.

of the heavens and to every thing that creeps on the earth, wherein is a living soul, [I give] every green herb for meat ; and so it was. 31. And God saw all that he had made and, behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, the sixth day.

II. 1. So the heavens and the earth and all their host were finished. 2. And God finished on the seventh¹ day his work which he had made and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. 3. And God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it he rested from all his work which he had created by making it.

THE GENERATIONS OF ADAM.²

V. 1. This is the book of the generations of Adam : in the day that God created man, in the image of God did he make

¹ 'Seventh day.' LXX., Sam., Vulg., Pesh., Book of Jubilees, Talm., all have 'sixth day,' which is, of course, the easiest reading. We may take the Massoretic text to mean that God made an end of his work, ceased from it, and in that sense 'finished' it on the seventh. Or the other reading, easier though it is, may be original, and the Massoretic lection may be due to a slip of the scribe, who found the word 'seventh' repeatedly in ii. 1-3. Compare especially the similar collocation in 2^b. Of course, the Massoretic reading favours Wellhausen's theory mentioned above.

² 'The generations of Adam.' P recognises neither the fall nor Cain's existence. In the oldest stratum of the Jahvist (see vol. i. p. 1, n. 1), Cain is not a murderer, but the father of civilised humanity, and the list of his descendants is given, iv. 17 *seq.* Now here the list of Seth's descendants is to a great extent borrowed from the Jahvist's list of Cain's descendants. Comp. Cain there, Kenan here, Irad there with Jared here, Mehujael with Mahalalel, Methushael with Methuselah ; Enoch and Lamech appear in each list. The lists cannot be independent, and we conclude on general grounds that P borrowed from the Jahvist, not *vice versa*. But this conclusion is slightly confirmed by the fact that some of the names, which yield no obvious sense in Hebrew, and were, perhaps, of foreign origin, have assumed in P a good Hebrew form. Thus we have Jared for Irad, Mahalalel for Mehujael, Methuselah for Methushael.

The years are variously given in the Massoretic text, in the Samaritan, and again in the LXX. The following table exhibits the divergences. The first line shows age at birth of the first son, the second the years of life after that event, the third the years of the whole life.

him. 2. Male and female did he create them, and he blessed

	Massoretic Text.			Sam.			LXX.		
Adam, . . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth, . . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enosh, . . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Kenan, . . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalalel, . . .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared, . . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch, . . .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah, . . .	187	782	969	67	653	720	167	802	969
Lamech, . . .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah, . . .	500			500			500		
To the Flood, . . .	100			100			100		
Totals, . . .	1656			1307			2242		

Dillm. and Budde argue for the priority of the Sam. reading, on grounds which seem to me conclusive. I have therefore followed it in the text. The LXX. readings have, as is generally admitted, no critical value here. The decision lies between the Massoretic and the Samaritan recensions. The Sam. justifies itself by the much greater regularity with which the ages of the patriarchs decline, an objection in the case of real genealogies, but an argument for priority in the case of one manifestly artificial. Again, the tendency (witness the LXX.) was to lengthen the period between the creation and the flood (or the Exodus), a tendency sure to arise as the Hebrews learnt something of the histories of other nations. Moreover, if the Massoretic numbers were original, there would have been no motive for changing them. There was a strong reason for changing the Samaritan reading, viz. that according to the Samaritan numbers Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech all died in the flood year. Now as the flood took place, according to P, on the 17th day of the second month, it must have seemed impossible to avoid the conclusion that they perished in the flood. This, however, was just what P intended to imply, and here the argument for the Sam. is clinched. P, having given no account of the fall, had to indicate the rise of the violence and corruption which caused the flood. He does so in this genealogy. Adam and the first five of his descendants reach a sum of years worthy of the golden age. Of the remaining five three perished as sinners in the flood, a fourth, because he walks with God, is translated from surrounding corruption, another, Noah, is saved from the flood, becomes a second Adam, and lives to be 950 years old, older, therefore, than any one of his forefathers, Adam included. Probably, also, the names of the last five patriarchs are chosen to indicate the same point of view. Jared means 'descent,' here 'falling off,' 'deterioration' (comp. Deut. xxviii. 43). Methuselah means 'the man of a dart.' Lamech was in the old tradition a man of violence, and this may, perhaps, be indicated in the name (Budde compares Arab *lāmacha* 'manu percussit'—*lamagua* id. *lamaka* 'subegit massam').

them and called their name man, in the day when they were created. 3. And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years and begot [a son] in his image after his likeness and called his name Seth. 4. And Adam's days after he begot Seth were eight hundred years, and he begot sons and daughters. 5. And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years : and he died. 6. And Seth lived one hundred and five years and begot Enosh. 7. And Seth lived after he begot Enosh eight hundred and seven years and begot sons and daughters. 8. And all the days of Seth were nine hundred and twelve years and he died. 9. And Enosh lived ninety years and begot Kenan. 10. And Enosh lived after he begot Kenan eight hundred and fifteen years and begot sons and daughters. 11. And all the days of Enosh were nine hundred and five years and he died. 12. And Kenan lived seventy years and begot Mahalalel : 13. and Kenan lived after he begot Mahalalel eight hundred and forty years and begot sons and daughters : 14. and all the days of Kenan were nine hundred and ten years, and he died. 15. And Mahalalel lived sixty-five years and begot Jared, 16. and Mahalalel lived after he begot Jared eight hundred and thirty years and begot sons and daughters. 17. And all the days of Mahalalel were eight hundred and ninety-five years, and he died. 18. Now Jared lived sixty-two years and begot Enoch, 19. and Jared lived after he begot Enoch seven hundred and eighty-five years and begot sons and daughters : 20. so all the days of Jared were eight hundred and forty-seven years, and he died. 21. Now Enoch lived sixty-five years and begot Methuselah, 22. and Enoch walked with God after he begot Methuselah three hundred years and begot sons and daughters ; 23. and all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years : 24. and because Enoch walked with God, he was found [on earth] no more, for God had taken him. 25. Now Methuselah lived sixty-seven years and begot Lamech, 26. and Methuselah lived after he begot Lamech six hundred and fifty-three years and begot sons and daughters : 27. so all the days

of Methuselah were seven hundred and twenty years, and he died. 28. Now Lamech lived fifty-three years and begot [Noah], 30. and Lamech lived after he begot Noah six hundred years and begot sons and daughters: 31. So all the days of Lamech were six hundred and fifty-three years, and he died. 32. Now Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begot Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH (THE FLOOD).¹

VI. 9. These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous, a perfect man among his contemporaries. Noah

¹ 'The flood.' A parallel account to that of the Jahvist, vol. i. p. 10 *seq.* Each narrative is preserved all but complete. The Jahvist distinguishes between clean and unclean animals: Noah is to take into the ark seven pairs of each clean, one pair of each unclean species. After the flood is over, Noah offers acceptable sacrifice to Yahwè. P makes no distinction between clean and unclean animals, because the distinction was to be made long after through Moses. He speaks of 'God,' not of Yahwè, because the latter name was to be revealed only through Moses. He is quite silent about sacrifice, for how could lawful sacrifice be offered till Moses had received the law of sacrifice which was to be observed, and a due place for sacrifice had been provided? Again, according to the Jahvist, the flood was caused by forty days of continuous rain, it continued, of course, in full force during that time, and in twenty-one days gradually declined and disappeared. According to P the flood arose because the fountains of the deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened: the water rose for one hundred and fifty days: it began to abate, because God caused a wind to pass over the earth, and because the windows of heaven and the fountains of the deep were closed; it was not till after six months that the ark settled on the mountains of Ararat; nearly a year had passed before the waters were drained off, and rather more than a (lunar) year before the earth was dry. Moreover with the picturesque details and anthropomorphic religion of the Jahvist we have to contrast the loftier idea of God, the style at once dry, meagre and diffuse, and the love of precise dates, all of which are the constant marks of P. The reader will see for himself the close connection in language and thought between the story of the creation and of the flood in P. Notice, *e.g.* man made 'in the image' of God, 'male and female,' the classification of animals, etc., etc. Finally a comparison with the notes in vol. i. p. 10 *seq.* will show that the flood story in P stands far further than the Jahvist account from the Babylonian original. It is indeed hard to understand how any one can ignore the marks of much later origin in the story of the flood as told by P.

walked with God. 10. Now Noah begot three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth. 11. But the earth was corrupted before God and the earth was filled with violence. 12. Then God saw that the earth was indeed corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth. 13. So God said to Noah, The end of all flesh has been determined before me, for the earth has been filled with violence because of them: therefore, behold, I am about to destroy them from the earth. 14. Make thee an ark of pine wood: thou shalt make the ark with cells and shalt smear it with pitch within and without. 15. And after these measures shalt thou make it; the length of the ark three hundred cubits, its breadth fifty cubits and its height thirty cubits. 16. A light [?] shalt thou make to the ark and shalt see that it is one ell high all round [?], and the door of the ark shalt thou set in its side: with lowest, second and third stories shalt thou make it. 17. For I, behold, I am bringing the flood-waters on the earth to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life from beneath the heavens; all that is on the earth shall expire. 18. But I shall establish my covenant¹ with thee so that thou shalt go into the ark, thou and thy sons and thy wife and thy son's wives with thee. 19. And of every living thing, of all flesh, two of each sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee: male and female shall they be. 20. Of birds after their kinds and cattle after their kind, of every thing that

¹ 'My covenant.' See vol. i. p. 23, n. 1. In P 'berith,' here rendered by 'covenant' in deference to usage, and for want of a better word, really means the purpose and promise by which God binds himself in mercy to man. What the 'berith' with Noah was appears in ix. 9. God, despite his hatred of sin, solemnly promises that for the future he will not destroy man and beast by the flood. The bow in the heavens is there to remind him of his promise, and restrain the natural punishment of sin. In order to receive the benefit of this gracious promise Noah must enter the ark, but there is no bilateral contract. God's promise is unchangeable, and that is specially plain here from the fact that the covenant extends to beasts who can enter into no contract. True, in ix. 4-6, we have the prohibition of eating blood. This, however, is not a condition of the covenant, but a limitation of the permission to eat flesh.

creeps on the ground after its kind, two of each sort shall go with thee into the ark to keep them alive. 21. But thou shalt take thee of all food that can be eaten and gather it to thee and it shall be for food for thee and them. 22. Thus did Noah : according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

VII. 6. Now Noah was six hundred years old, when the flood came,—waters on the earth. 11. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on this day all the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of the heavens were opened. 13. In the self-same day went Noah, and Shem and Ham and Japheth Noah's sons, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark, 14. they and every beast after its kind and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creeps on the ground after its kind, and every winged thing after its kind, every bird of every sort. 15. And they went in to Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. 16^a^b. And they that went in, went in as male and female from all flesh, according as God had commanded him. 18. And the waters prevailed and increased exceedingly upon the earth, and the ark went upon the waters. 19. And the waters prevailed to the utmost above the earth, so that all the high mountains which were under the whole heavens were covered. 20. Fifteen cubits above them did the waters prevail, so that the mountains were covered. 21. Then all flesh that moves on the earth expired, birds and cattle and beast and every swarming thing that swarms on the earth and all mankind. 24. And the waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days. VIII. 1. Then God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark, and God caused a wind to pass over the earth, so that the waters fell, 2^a. and the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed. 3^b. And after the end of one hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. 4. So the ark rested in the seventh month on the seventeenth day of the

month upon the mountains of Ararat. 5. Now the waters decreased continually till the tenth month: in the tenth month on the first day of the month the heads of the mountains were seen. 13^a. And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first month, on the first day of the month that the waters were drained from off the earth, 14. and in the second month on the seventeenth day of the month the earth was dry. 15. Then spoke God to Moses saying, 16. Go forth from the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. 17. Bring forth with thee all the beasts that are with thee, all flesh, whether birds or cattle or creeping thing that creeps on the earth, so that they may swarm on the earth and be fruitful and multiply on the earth. 18. So Noah went out and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him. 19. All beasts, all creeping things, everything that moves upon the earth, according to their families went forth from the ark.

THE COVENANT WITH NOAH.

IX. 1. Then God blessed Noah and his son and said to them, Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth. 2. And the fear and dread of you shall be on all wild beasts and on all birds of the heavens, on all that with which the ground moves, and on all fish of the sea; into your hand are they delivered. 3. All that moves and lives, shall serve you for food: just like the green herb, I give you it all. 4. Only flesh with its life, *i.e.* its blood in it, you shall not eat 5. and surely your own blood will I require: from every beast will I require it and from man, from each man's brother will I require a man's life. 6. He who sheds man's blood,¹ by man shall his blood be shed, since in his

¹ 'He who sheds man's blood,' etc. 'In a certain stage of society,' says Dr. Verrall (on Choepl. 274), 'the rule "a life for a life" might well be preached as an improving doctrine, when compared with the callous savagery of universal "were-gild." ' And this is, in fact, the doctrine preached by the Jahvist and by Æschylus in his sublime trilogy (see also Theb. 667, with Dr. Verrall's note). But P, going far beyond this, vindicates the sanctity of human life as such, and bases its sanctity neither on instinct nor custom, but on the revealed truth that man is made in God's image.

image has God made man. 7. But do you be fruitful and multiply: swarm in the earth and multiply in it.

8. Then God said to Noah and to his sons with him thus: 9. I, behold, I set up my covenant¹ with you and with your seed after you, 10. and with every living creature that is with you, birds and cattle and wild beasts that are with you, all sorts that go out of the ark, namely all beasts of the earth. 11. And I will set up my covenant with you, so that no flesh will be cut off any more by the waters of the flood, nor will there be a flood any more to destroy the earth. 12. And God said, This is the sign of the covenant which I give between me and you and every living creature which is with you, for perpetual generations. 13. My bow have I placed in the clouds to serve as the sign of the covenant between me and the earth. 14. And when I bring clouds over the earth and the bow is seen in the clouds, 15. then will I remember the covenant which is between me and you and every living creature, *i.e.* all flesh, and never more shall the waters rise to a flood to destroy all flesh. 16. And the bow shall be in the clouds, that I, when I see it, may remember the perpetual covenant between God and every living creature, namely all flesh which is on the earth. 17. So God said to Noah, This is the sign of the covenant which I have set up between me and all flesh which is on the earth. 28. And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. 29. So all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: then he died.

THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH'S SONS.²

X. 1. Now these are the generations of the sons of Noah,

¹ The phrase 'establish,' as also 'to give or deliver a covenant' (נתן, *hakis*) is a mark of P, who never uses the older form 'to make,' literally 'to cut a covenant.' See vol. i. p. 23 n. 1.

² 'The generations of Noah's sons.' Comp. vol. i. p. 16. The genealogical table there given, which belongs to the Jahvist history but not to its oldest form, shows a considerable advance in geographical knowledge upon the naïve conceptions found in the story of Eden. Here, however, we have an exhibition of knowledge which leaves the Jahvist portion of ch. x. far

Shem, Ham and Japheth, and sons were born to them after the flood. 2. The sons of Japheth : Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan and Tubal and Meshech and Tiras. 3. And the sons of Gomer : Ashkenaz and Riphath and Togarmah. 4. And the sons of Javan : Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Rodanim.¹ 5. From these [the populations on] the sea-board of the nations were divided in their land, each according to their speech, after their clans in their nations.

6. And the sons of Ham : Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. 7. And the sons of Cush : Sebah and Havilah and Sabtah and Raamah and Sabteca : and the sons of Raamah : Sheba and Dedan. 20. These are the sons of Ham, after their clans, after their tongues, in their lands, in their nations.

22. The sons of Shem : Elam and Asshur and Arphachsad and Lud and Aram. 23. And the sons of Aram : Uz and Hul and Gether and Mash. 31. These are the sons of Shem, after their clans, in their tongues, in their lands, after their nations.

32. These are the races of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations, and from these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood.

THE GENERATIONS OF SHEM.²

XI. 10. These are the generations of Shem : when Shem was

behind. P is acquainted with the east as far as Media (Madai), with the north-east as far as Armenia (Togarmah), with the north certainly as far as the Black Sea (Tubal and Meshech = Moschi and Tibareni), and probably as far as the Cimmerians (Gomer) on its northern shore, with the west as far as Tartessus, the farthest colony of Phœnicia in that direction. He is also cognisant of the Greeks (Javan = Ionians). On the other hand, the Jahvist verses do not carry us farther to the north-east than the lands on the Euphrates or farther west than, perhaps, Crete.†

¹ 'Rodanim.' So LXX., Sam., and 1 Chron. i. 7 (where, however, the variant Dodanim is also found) for the vulgar reading 'Dodanim.' Probably the Rodanim are the Rhodians, and represent the inhabitants of the Ægean islands generally.

² 'The generations of Shem.' Here, as in the 'generations of Adam,' the numbers are variously given in the Mass. Heb., in the Sam., and in LXX.

a hundred years old, he begot Arphachsad, two years after the flood. 11. And Shem lived, after he begat Arphachsad five hundred years and begot sons and daughters. 12. Then, when Arphachsad had lived thirty-five years he begot Shelah. 13. And Arphachsad lived, after he begot Shelah, four hundred and three years and begot sons and daughters. 14. Then, when Shelah had lived thirty years, he begot Eber. 15. And Shelah lived, after he begot Eber, four hundred and three years and begot sons and daughters. 16. Then, when Eber had lived thirty-four years, he begot Peleg. 17. And Eber lived, after he begot Peleg, four hundred and thirty years and begot sons and daughters. 18. Then, when Peleg had lived thirty years, he begot Reu. 19. And Peleg lived, after he begot Reu, two hundred and nine years, and begot sons and daughters. 20. Then, when Reu had lived thirty-two years, he begot Serug. 21. And Reu lived, after he begot Serug, two hundred and seven years and begot sons and daughters. 22. Then, when Serug had lived thirty years, he begot Nahor. 23. And Serug lived, after he begot Nahor, two hundred years and begot sons and daughters. 24. Then, when Nahor had lived twenty-nine years, he begot Terah. 25. And Nahor lived, after he begot Terah, a hundred and nineteen years and begot sons and daughters. 26. Then, when Terah had lived seventy years, he begot Abram, Nahor and Haran.

THE GENERATIONS OF TERAH.

27. Now these are the generations of Terah. Terah begot Abram, Nahor and Haran, and Haran begot Lot. 31. And

On the whole the numbers in the Massoretic text seem to preserve the original form, though probably the LXX. text is right in giving ten generations, as in the generations of Adam (ch. v.). But the additional name added by the LXX., viz. Kenan, can scarcely be correct, since it also occurs in the table of Adam's descendants, whence probably the LXX. borrowed it. The Jahvist, Gen. vi. 3, vol. i. p. 10, represents the duration of life after the flood as shortened to one hundred and twenty years. The table of Shem's descendants before us proves how different the view of P was.

Terah took Abram his son and Lot Haran's son, his own grandson, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife and brought them forth¹ from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan: and they came as far as Haran and dwelt there. 32. And Terah's days came to two hundred and five years. Then Terah died in Haran. XII. 4^b. Now Abram was seventy-five years old, when he went forth from Haran. 5. And Abram took Sarai his wife and Lot his brother's son and all their substance that they had gathered and the slaves² that they had acquired in Haran, and they went forth on their journey to the land of Canaan, and they came to the land of Canaan. XIII. 6. But the land could not support them, dwelling together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. 11^b. So they separated from each other. 12^a. Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan and Lot dwelt in the cities of the [Jordan] circle.

ABRAM'S MARTIAL PROWESS AND GENEROSITY. MELCHISEDEK.³

XIV. 1. *Now it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of*

¹ 'Brought them forth.' So Sam., LXX., Vulg. The Massoretic reading is unintelligible.

² 'Slaves,' literally 'souls' or 'persons.'

³ 'Abram's martial prowess,' etc., ch. xiv. The narrative has marked peculiarities which make it impossible to give it a place in any of the Hexateuch documents. It is, as Wellh. says, like Melchisedek himself, 'without father, without mother, without genealogy.' The most divergent theories on its origin have been held, and are still held, by critics of name. The following considerations may help the reader to form some opinion on the main aspects of the question:

(1.) The chapter, as we have it, is late. Dillm. and Kittel both grant that it contains glosses and interpolations. Even Delitzsch does not deny that it has 'passed through a later hand.' This much may be easily shown. At least in its present form the chapter presupposes the existence of the whole Pentateuch. It contains a reference in ver. 13 to the terebinths of Mamre, mentioned by the Jahvist, xiii. 18, and to Lot's dwelling in Sodom, also mentioned by the Jahvist, xiii. 12. It uses words characteristic of P, viz. that translated 'substance,' vv. 11 *seq.*, 16, 21, 'born in his house,' ver. 14, and 'soul' (*nephesh*) in the sense of person ver. 21. At the same time it employs words found nowhere else in the

Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Tidal king of Goiim, 2. that they made war with Bera king of Sodom and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah

Old Testament. Such are the words translated 'creator of the heavens and the earth,' vv. 19, 22, 'confederate with,' ver. 13, 'proved' men (Revised Version 'trained' men), ver. 14. Other words and phrases, viz. the word for 'enrich,' ver. 23, 'God most high' ('El 'Elyon), vv. 18-22, are not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. We cannot, therefore, doubt that the chapter in its present form was added to the Pentateuch, when its framework was already complete by union of the older documents with P.

(2.) The cuneiform inscriptions prove that two of the invading kings mentioned are, and that all may be, historical characters, and they further confirm conclusively the view implied in the narrative before us (ver. 5), viz. that the Elamites were for a time supreme in Babylonia. Shinar may be taken as the Hebrew form of Shumer, *i.e.* southern Babylonia, and Amraphel its king, has been identified conjecturally with Chammurabbi, who appears to have reigned in Babylonia from about 2291 to about 2236. He claimed to be 'lord of the west,' which may imply that his rule extended to the Mediterranean, and included Palestine. We can speak with greater confidence of Arioch, who is almost certainly identical with Iriaku of Ellasar, *i.e.* Larsa in south Babylonia. Now his father's name, viz. Kudurmabug, is admittedly Elamitic. We are therefore warranted in regarding Arioch as a representative of the foreign Elamitic power in Babylonia. This rule was brought to an end by the subjugation of Arioch and his father to Chammurabbi. We are also warranted in accepting the name Chedorlaomer of Elam as genuine. Kudur is a well-known Elamitic prenominal, and we learn from an inscription of Assurbanipal that Lagomer was an Elamitic deity. Till very lately the evidence was not quite complete. Mr Pinches believed that he had found the name of Chedorlaomer in a mutilated form on a tablet in the British Museum. Unfortunately the tablet dates from a very late period, that of the Arsacidæ, who began to reign over Parthia in 256 B.C. The mutilated name is read Kudur—gumal, and as it occurs in conjunction with two other names, Eri[e]laka, which he took (though Schrader differs from him) to be the same as Iriaku or Arioch and Tudchula, which he identified with the Tidal of Genesis, Mr. Pinches not unnaturally conjectured that the syllables Kudur—gumal must be completed by the insertion of another syllable 'lach,' so as to give the full form Kudurlachgumal or Chedorlaomer. Now, however, the matter seems to be finally set at rest by Scheil's discovery of the name Kudur-nuggamar or Kudur-luggamar in 'an autograph letter from Chammurabbi' (Hommel, *Hebrew Tradition illustrated by the Monuments*, p. 173 *seq.*). The last of our four names, 'Tidal king of nations' [or heathen?], arouses reasonable suspicion. We may, however, accept provisionally the suggestion that 'Goim,' the Hebrew word for 'nations,' is here a corruption of Gutim or Gutium, a people mentioned in the inscriptions, and dwelling in the mountainous region east of the lower

and Shemebar king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela,—that is Zoar. 3. All these [four] marched together to the valley of Siddim, which is [now] the Salt Sea. 4. Twelve years they [the

Zab. We have already said that Mr. Pinches has found the name Tudchulu on a tablet.

It is necessary to remember the large element of conjecture which enters into this confirmation of Genesis xiv. from the monuments. It is still more necessary to remember that the confirmation, even if every conjecture given above were changed into certainty, goes but a very short way. We should then indeed be able to assume that the four invaders really existed, existed as kings of the places named, and existed together. We might further regard it as certain that the Elamytico-Babylonian power extended over Palestine. But of a joint expedition to Palestine or anywhere else the inscriptions, so far as is known, say nothing, nor do they speak of the invading kings as allied at all. On the contrary Chammurabbi, who is supposed to be the same as Amraphel, destroyed the power of Iriaku, *i.e.* Arioch. And, of course, even if we did at last find reason to accept the invasion of Palestine by Chedorlaomer and his allies as historical, that would not of itself furnish ground for accepting the story told in this chapter of Genesis as substantially true. For it is Abraham who is the central figure here: it is his existence, his success against the Elamite and Babylonian hosts on which the narrator insists, and which seems incredible. It is on this point that contemporary evidence is needed. The mere mention of Abraham, the Hebrew, in a document of Chedorlaomer's would profoundly affect the prevalent theories of patriarchal legend.

We have still to deal with the evidence or supposed evidence in the cuneiform tablets for the existence and position of Melchisedek. We know that El or Il was an ancient and indeed prehistoric name for God, common to Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and Arabs. Therefore no valid objection lies against the use of it by Melchisedek. We also know from the tablets which were found a few years ago at Tel-el-Amarna, and which give much unexpected information on the state of Palestine in the fourteenth century B.C., that the name Jerusalem (Uru-Salim) was already in use at that remote period. This fact removes all difficulty about the statement in the text that there was in Abraham's time a king of Salem, *i.e.* of Jerusalem. Nor is it in any way unlikely that this king was also a priest. But when Professor Hommel attempts to produce positive confirmation for the position here attributed to Melchisedek, I venture to think that his argument is absolutely worthless. It is this. He infers from Hebrews vii. 1-3 that St. Paul (*sic*) who says that Melchisedek was 'without father or mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days,' must have had a text of Gen. xiv. before him, in which ver. 18 contained a supplementary clause somewhat to this effect, 'who had not received the kingdom from his father and mother.' Next he quotes from the tablets the following words addressed to Amenothis, king of Egypt, by his subordinate Abd-chiba of Jerusalem,

five kings] were subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they revolted. 5. So in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him and smote the Rephaim in

who had been charged with meditating treason against his sovereign: 'Lo, in regard to the region of this city of Jerusalem, it was not my father, not my mother who gave it me, but the arm of the mighty king gave it me.' Hommel admits that 'the mighty king' must be an earthly potentate. But he asserts that the expression 'sounds for all the world like the echo of some ancient sacred formula,' and indicates that Melchisedek owed his place and power to the 'El'Elyon, 'the most high God,' mentioned in Gen. xiv. 18. Surely we might well leave this train of reasoning to answer itself. The 'higher critics' who are the objects of Professor Hommel's scorn have seldom done worse violence to a text than that done by him to the chapter in Genesis. There is not the faintest ground for the emendation which he proposes. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had our present Greek text of Genesis before him, but he argues, according to a mystical method of exegesis which pervades the epistle, from the fact that in Genesis Melchisedek's genealogy is not mentioned. Moreover his point is that Melchisedek being without beginning or end of days is in this respect a type of our Lord's eternal priesthood. It would not have been to the point that Melchisedek was not a hereditary king. The tablets do not mention Melchisedek but Abd-chiba: they do not speak of a priest-king, but of an ordinary governor: they do not speak of divine but of human installation. Nor do they give the least hint that pure monotheism, the belief in a supreme God 'creator of heavens and earth,' prevailed at the time in Palestine. Thus Melchisedek the second, like Abraham, the chief actor in this narrative, is, as yet at all events, no better known to us by the light of the monuments.

The narrative then is to be tried on its own merits, and it must be confessed that the judgment of scholars has differed very seriously. Ewald (anticipated after a fashion by Astruc) was inclined to believe that the chapter was based on material which was pre-Mosaic and of Canaanite, not Hebrew, origin (*Gesch.*, vol. i. p. 73 ed. n.). He called attention to the way in which Abram is mentioned here as 'the Hebrew.' Of course he had to admit that Dan had been substituted for the older name Laish in ver. 14 (see Judg. xvii. seq.) Ewald's opinion became very popular. It was adopted by Tuch and Bertheau, and has been retained in substance by Dillm., Baudissin (*A. T. Priest-erthum*, p. 67 seq.), and Kittel (*Gesch.*, i. p. 158 seq.). But the historical character of the chapter was attacked in 1869 with moderation and acuteness by Nöldeke (*Kritik des A. T.*, p. 156 seq.). He regards the whole story as impossible, and as little better than pure fiction, though he thinks it may have been written by a Hebrew as early as 800 B.C. Nöldeke's negative conclusions have been adopted by Wellh., Kuenen (*Onderz.*, i. 1, § 16 n. 12), Cheyne (*Origin of Psalter*, p. 42), Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterthums*, vol. i. p. 165 seq.), Cornill (*Einleit.*, p. 72 seq.), Holzinger (vol. i. p. 424 seq.). They, however, differ from Nöldeke by placing the chapter at the very close of that

Ashteroth-karnaim and the Zuzim in Ham and the Emim in the plain of Kiriathaim. 6. And the Horites in their mount Seir, as far as El-paran which is at the entrance to the wilderness.

long and complicated process to which the Pentateuch is due. The following is a summary of the argument for the late date and fabulous character of the narrative.

The unknown author must have read the Pentateuch much as we have it. His language, as shown above, betrays the influence of P, while his facts are partly drawn from the Jahvist. He must have belonged to Judah, for he exalts the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and its sacred right to tithes. The narrative involves grave difficulties, and Nöldeke, not inaptly, compares the account of the invasion and its defeat to the military narratives in Judith. The invaders conquer Hauran, Ammon, and Moab, the barren mountains of Edom, penetrating to Elath, a port at the top of the Red Sea, and certainly an important place; then turning northwards they overrun the desert of Tih, and south-eastern Judah. It is only at the last that they attack the fruitful vale of Siddim, which they had neglected for a useless and dangerous expedition in the mountains and deserts of the south. The narrator's object, however, is clear enough. He wants to give Abram the credit of conquering those who had conquered so many others. Having worsted the kings of Sodom, Gomorrha, etc., the invaders march northwards without any attempt to secure central Palestine. Abram with three hundred and eighteen slaves falls by night on the army of a confederated empire, and, as if this was not enough, pursues it as far as Hobah, *i.e.* at least two days march beyond Dan, where he first 'smote them.' The pure monotheism of the priest-king Melchisedek, who blesses Abram in the name of the creator of heaven and earth is in contradiction to all the knowledge we have concerning the history of Semitic religion. The names Mamre, Eshcol, and probably Aner are simply places changed into persons. The names of Bera and Birsha are perhaps symbolical, and intended to denote the 'evil' and 'wickedness' of those who bore them, *viz.* the kings of Sodom and Gomorrha. It is true that the names of the invaders are not fictitious. Nöldeke with characteristic moderation suggested that this might turn out to be the case, before any proof had been found. But to what does this proof amount? Simply to this, that the writer had acquired some slight knowledge of Babylonian history, as, doubtless, many a Jew in exile did. An antiquarian taste is manifested by P and tells for, rather than against, a late date. And though the unhistorical character of the Melchisedek episode is admitted even by Baudissin, who maintains that the rest of the chapter is ancient and based upon fact, still it is possible that the name Melchisedek was handed down by old tradition. It resembles the name of another traditional king of Jerusalem, Adonizedek (Josh. x. 1, where, however, the LXX. have Adonibezek). The original meaning is generally taken to be 'Çedek is King.' But if that is so, the author of the story in the text re-interpreted the name in accordance with the monotheism of his own day, and gave it the signification 'King of righteousness.' The

7. Thereupon they turned and came to En-misphat—that is Kadesh—and smote all the country of the Amalekites and also the Amorites that dwelt in Hazezon-tamar. 8. Then went out the king of Sodom and the king of Gomorrah and the king of Admah and the king of Zeboiim and the king of Bela—that is Zoar—and set the battle in array against them in the vale of Siddim; 9. against Chedorlaomer king of Elam and Tidal king of Goiim [?] and Amraphel king of Shinar and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against those five. 10. Now the vale of Siddim was full of bitumen pits, and as the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, they sank there, and they that were left, fled to the mountain. 11. So they took all the substance of Sodom and Gomorrah and all their victuals and went their way. 12. Also they took Lot Abram's nephew and his substance and went their way, for he was dwelling at Sodom. 13. Then came a fugitive and told Abram the Hebrew: now he dwelt by the terebinths of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and Aner, who were confederates of Abram. 14. But when Abram heard that his kinsman was taken captive, he hurried forth his proved slaves, born in his house,¹ three hundred and eighteen men and pursued as far as Dan. 15. And he divided his band and fell on them by night, he and his slaves, and smote them and pursued them to Hobah which is to the north of Damascus. 16. So he brought back all the substance: Lot also his kinsman with his substance did he bring back besides the women and the people. 17. Then the king of Sodom went forth to meet him on his return from smiting Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, to the valley of Shaveh, which is the King's Vale. 18. And Mel-

Aaronic priests of the second temple at Jerusalem may have chosen one who was not of Abraham's seed to prefigure their office and dignity, much as the Jews of the exile glorified David in the person of his heathen ancestress Ruth.

¹ 'His proved slaves, born in his house,' lit. 'his proved ones,' etc. Abram had no 'horde' or military troop. He was an owner of cattle, not a warrior. The sense of the word 'proved' is explained by what follows 'born in his house.' Such slaves were, of course, better known to him than those whom he had bought.

chisedek king of Salem¹ brought forth bread and wine: now he was a priest of the most high God. 19. And he blessed him and said, Blessed be Abram by the most high God, creator of heavens and earth, 20. and blessed be the most high God who has delivered thine adversaries into thy hand. Then he [Abram] gave him a tenth of all [he had]. 21. Then said the king of Sodom to Abram, Give me the persons and take the substance for thyself. 22. But Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up my hand to the most high God,² creator of heavens and earth, 23. that I will not take a thread, or a shoelatchet, nor aught that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abram rich, 24. save only that which the young men have eaten and the portion of the men who went with me, Aner, Eshcol and Mamre—let them take their portions.

BIRTH OF ISHMAEL. THE COVENANT WITH ABRAHAM BY
CIRCUMCISION.

XVI. 1^a. Now Sarai Abram's wife had borne him no children, 3. So Sarai, Abram's wife, took Hagar the Egyptian, her maid, after Abram had dwelt ten years in the land of Canaan and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his wife. 15. So Hagar bore Abram a son and Abram called the name of his son whom Hagar bore, Ishmael.

XVII. 1. But when Abram was ninety-nine years old, God³

¹ 'Salem,' obviously Jerusalem (this Dillm. now admits), though the name is only found here and Psalm lxxvi. 3, a psalm which is certainly of late origin. The writer wanted to confer immemorial antiquity on the shrine at Jerusalem, a work which an older writer had done with better right for the sanctuary at Bethel (vol. i. p. 51). The writer avoided the name Jerusalem, which was supposed (wrongly, as we now know from the Tel-el-Amarna tablets) to be modern and 'Jebus,' which suggested heathen hostility. Salem, however, is really shortened from Jerusalem, as the present name el-Kuds from Bait-el-Kuds.

² 'The most high God.' The Yahwè which precedes these words in the Massoretic text is rightly omitted by important manuscripts of LXX. and by Pesh.

³ 'God.' The final editor of the Pentateuch has substituted 'Yahwè.' The marks of P's hand are unmistakable, e.g. 'set up' or 'make,' lit. 'give' a covenant, 'self-same day' 'beget' (הוֹלִיד), etc. We shall find the phrase, 'That person (soul) shall be cut off,' frequently occurring in the Priestly code.

appeared to Abram and said to him, I am El Shaddai:¹ walk as before me, that thou mayest be perfect. 2. And I will make my covenant between me and thee and will multiply thee exceedingly. 3. Then Abram fell on his face and God spoke with him, saying, 4. As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, that thou mayest become father of a multitude of nations. 5. Neither shall thy name be called any more Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham,² for I make thee the father of a multitude of nations. 6. And I will make thee exceedingly fruitful and I will make nations of thee; yea, kings³ shall come forth from thee. 7. And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations as an everlasting covenant, to be a God to thee and thy seed after thee. 8. And I will give thee and thy seed after thee the land of thy sojournings, the whole land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, and I will be their God. 9. Then God said to Abraham, But thou shalt keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee in their generations. 10. This is my covenant which you shall keep between me and you and thy seed after thee: every male among you shall be circumcised. 11. And you shall be circum-

¹ 'El Shaddai.' The meaning is quite uncertain. Nöldeke writes Sheday, and connects it with shed, 'Lord'; the elder Delitzsch derives it from the Arab, sadda, 'to make fast'; the younger Delitzsch from an Assyrian root said to mean 'rise.' The name is found in the ancient poem known as Jacob's blessing, Gen. xlix. 25 (see also note on Gen. xliii. 14 in vol. i). The name marks a second epoch in the scheme of revelation as given by P. God was known as Elohim to Adam; as El Shaddai to Abraham and the other Patriarchs; as Yahwè to Moses.

² 'Abraham.' Abram = 'the Father (*i.e.* God or a god) is exalted.' P interprets Abraham as = 'father of a multitude' (ab hamon in the text).

³ 'Kings shall come forth,' etc. A favourite point with P. In Deuteronomy and writers of that school the king is looked on with disfavour: they had the fresh remembrance of kings who were tyrannical and, judged from the prophetic standpoint, irreligious. P leaves no place for a real king in his legislation: much of the kingly splendour and importance is, as we shall see, appropriated by the high priest. Yet to P the kingly power, now a distant and softened memory, has become one of the past glories of Israel, and possibly he looked forward to its revival in the Messianic age.

cised in the flesh of your foreskin and this shall be the sign of the covenant¹ between me and you. 12. At eight days old shall every male among you be circumcised throughout your generations, he that is born in thy house and he who is bought with money from foreigners who are not of thy seed. 13. Whether born in thy house or bought with thy money, they shall surely be circumcised, that my covenant may be in your flesh, an everlasting covenant. 14. But the uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin,—that person shall be cut off from the communities of his people: he has broken my covenant.

15. Also God said to Abraham, As for Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call her name Sarai, but Sarah² shall be her name.

¹ 'Sign of the covenant.' Here again note P's love of system. The first covenant, *i.e.* the first gracious and unchangeable promise was made with Noah (not with or to Adam, most of whose descendants were destroyed by the flood). The accompanying sign was the rainbow, the accompanying command, to abstain from blood. The second covenant was made with Abraham, and circumcision is at once the sign and command accompanying it. For the original meaning of the rite, see vol. i. p. 114 n. 2. Deut. like Jeremiah spiritualises the rite, and pleads for circumcision of the heart. Jeremiah knew very well (see Jer. ix. 25 *seq.*) that circumcision of the foreskin was by no means peculiar to Israel. But P had lived among Babylonians who did not practise the rite; and in his time it may have fallen into disuse among Israel's neighbours, as we know that it had done in Edom during the time of John Hyrcanus. Hence P gives it a religious value. To him it is the sacred sign of God's covenant with Abraham, and he carefully distinguishes the circumcision of Ishmaelites during boyhood (the age chosen by Arabs now) from that of the Israelites in infancy. The religious view of P made it possible for a Jew in exile, or at a later period in the diaspora, to feel that he was still under covenant with God. His God was the creator of all: he could keep the Sabbath sanctified by God from the beginning: by abstaining from blood he entered into the covenant made with Noah, by circumcision into that made with Abraham. With the ordinary Israelite in Hosea's time it was quite otherwise. To him communion with God depended on sacrifice, which could only be offered in Yahwè's land. It is noteworthy that when P comes to the covenant of circumcision, he drops his meagre and annalistic style, and writes with a certain fulness and enthusiasm. The Patriarchal stories are to him merely preparations for the law.

² 'Not Sarai—but Sarah,' perh. = 'not contentious but princess.' Possibly the forms were in reality variants of the same name.

16. And I will bless her, and moreover I will give thee a son from her and she shall grow to nations: kings of peoples shall be born of her. 17. Then Abraham fell on his face and laughed¹ and said in his heart, Shall a son be born to one that is a hundred years old and shall Sarah that is ninety years old bear? 18. Then Abraham said to God, O that Ishmael might live under thy care. 19. And God said, Nay, but Sarah thy wife is bearing thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish my covenant with him, as an everlasting covenant for his seed after him. 20. But with respect to Ishmael I have heard thee: behold, I have blessed him and I will make him fruitful and multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget and I will make him a great nation. 21. But my covenant I will establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee at this appointed time next year. 22. Then God ceased talking with him and went up, away from Abraham. 23. So Abraham took Ishmael his son and all that were born in his house and all that he had bought with money, all males among the people of Abraham's house and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin on that selfsame day, as God had told him. 24. Now Abraham was ninety-nine years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 25. And Ishmael his son was thirteen years old, when he was circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin. 26. In that selfsame day were Abraham and Ishmael his son circumcised; 27. and all the men of his house, whether born in his house or bought with money from foreigners, were circumcised.

DELIVERANCE OF LOT. ISAAC'S BIRTH AND CIRCUMCISION.

XIX. 29. Now it came to pass, when God destroyed the cities of the [Jordan] circle, that God remembered Abraham

¹ 'Laughed.' The name Isaac is derived from the Hebrew verb 'to laugh.' According to the Jahvist the name was given because Sarah laughed out of incredulity (xviii. 12), according to the Elohist because she laughed out of joy (xxi. 6), according to P because Abraham laughed out of wonder.

and sent Lot from the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt.

XXI. 1^b. And God¹ did to Sarah, as he had promised, 2^b. at the appointed time which God had promised. 3. Then Abraham called the name of the son that was born to him, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac : 4. and Abraham circumcised Isaac his son, when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him. 5. Now, Abraham was a hundred years old, when Isaac was born to him.

SARAH'S BURIAL. MACPHELAH.²

XXIII. 1. Now the life of Sarah was a hundred and twenty-seven years,—the years of Sarah's life. 2. Then Sarah died in Kiriath-arba which is Hebron in the land of Canaan, and Abraham went to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her. 3. Then Abraham rose up from before his dead and spake to the children of Heth,³ saying, 4. A settler and a sojourner am I with

¹ 'And God.' The present text of the Pentateuch has 'Yahwè.' The editor put together a fragment of the Jahvist (xxi. 1^a), and of P (xxi. 1^b), in one verse, and naturally objected to a change of the divine name in such close connection. The connection of the verses here with xvii. is obvious. Comp. here 2^b with xvii. 21.

² 'Sarah's burial, Macphelah.' Once more, as in ch. xvii. (the covenant by circumcision), P leaves his dry skeleton of dates and genealogies for a full and indeed redundant narrative. He considers it important to show that Abraham acquired a strict legal title to land in Canaan. His descendants were to receive the rest of the country by the gift of Yahwè. P alone mentions Macphelah. It is significant that he avoids any reference to the terebinths of Mamre.

³ 'Children of Heth.' It is well known that from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties the Egyptian monuments speak of the Cheta as the ruling people between the Euphrates and Orontes. The same national name appears on the Assyrian monuments down to the eighth century B.C. as the Hatti or Hattu. But P uses the name 'children of Heth' as equivalent to Canaanite (comp. here vv. 7, 12, 13 with 20; see also xxxvii. 46 *seq.*), and places them as far south as Hebron. Budde (*Urg.*, p. 347) rightly takes this as an indication that P wrote at a very late period, when the real position of the Hittites north of Lebanon had been forgotten. Stade (*Gesch.*, vol. i. p. 143) and Meyer (*Z.A.W.*, i. p. 125) also regard the southern position assigned to the Hittites by P as the result of mere ignorance. At the same time the suggestion of Dillm. and Kittel (*Gesch.*, vol. i. p. 21) that there was a southern branch of the Hittites settled in south Palestine, though no evidence is adduced, cannot, of course, be positively disproved.

you: give me the possession of a grave with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight. 5. But the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying to him, 6. Hear us, my lord, a mighty prince art thou in the midst of us: in the choicest of our graves bury thy dead: not one of us shall withhold his grave from thee, so that thou shouldest not bury thy dead. 7. Then Abraham rose and bowed down before the people of the land, the children of Heth, 8. and he spoke with them, saying, If it is to your mind, that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me and intercede for me with Ephron the son of Zohar, 9. that he may give me the cave of Machphelah which he has, which is in the end of his field; for full money shall he give it to me, as the possession of a grave. 10. Now Ephron dwelt in the midst of the children of Heth and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the ears of the children of Heth, of all that came in at the gate of the city, saying, 11. Nay, my lord, hear me; I give thee the field and as for the cave that is in it, I give thee that: in the presence of the children of my people do I give it thee: bury thy dead. 12. Then Abraham bowed down before the children of the people of the land, 13. and spoke to Ephron in the ears of the people of the land, saying, If but thou!—hear me: the money do I give for the field, take it from me, that I may bury my dead there. 14. Then Ephron answered Abraham, saying to him, 15. My lord, hear me: land worth four hundred shekels, what is that between me and thee? But do thou bury thy dead. 16. So Abraham listened to Ephron and Abraham weighed out to Ephron the money which he had promised in the ears of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current with the merchant. 17. So Ephron's field which was in Machphelah which is east of Mamre, the field and the cave which was in it, and all the trees which were in the field, which were in its whole extent round about, became 18. Abraham's possession in the presence of the children of Heth, that is, all that came in by the gate of his city. 19. Then afterwards Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machphelah which is

east of Mamre, that is Hebron, in the land of Canaan. 20. So the field and the cave which was in it belonged to Abraham as the possession of a grave from the sons of Heth.

ABRAHAM'S DEATH.

XXV. 7. Now these are the days of the years of Abraham's life which he lived, one hundred and seventy-five years. 8. Then Abraham expired, and died in a good old age, an old man and satisfied [with years], and he was gathered to his people. 9. And Isaac and Ishmael his sons buried him in the cave of Machphelah, in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite which is east of Mamre, 10. the field which Abraham bought from the children of Heth: there Abraham was buried and Sarah his wife. 11^a. And it came to pass after Abraham's death that God blessed Isaac his son.

THE GENERATIONS OF ISHMAEL.

12. Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar the Egyptian Sarah's maid bore to Abraham. 13. And these are the names of the sons of Ishmael, by their names, according to their generations: the firstborn of Ishmael Nebaioth, then Kedar, Abdeel, Mibsam, 14. Mishma, Dumah, Massa, 15. Hadad and Tema, Jetur, Naphish and Kedemah: 16. these are the sons of Ishmael and these are their names in their villages and encampments, twelve princes according to their nations. 17. Now these are the years of Ishmael's life, one hundred and thirty: and he expired and died and was gathered to his people.

THE GENERATIONS OF ISAAC.

19. And these are the generations of Isaac, the son of Abraham: Abraham begot Isaac. 20. Now Isaac was forty years old, when he took Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel the

Aramæan from Paddan-aram,¹ the sister of Laban the Aramæan, to be his wife. . . . 26^b. And Isaac was sixty years old, when she bore them [Esau and Jacob]. XXVI. 34. And Esau was forty years old when he took to wife Jehudith, daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath daughter of Elon the Hittite. 35. But they were a grief of mind to Isaac and Rebekah. XXVII. 46. So Rebekah said to Isaac, I am weary of my life because of the daughters of Heth : if Jacob take a wife from the daughters of Heth, such as these, from the daughters of the land, what good shall life do me? XXVIII. 1. Then Isaac called Jacob² and blessed him and commanded him and said to him, Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan. 2. Arise, go o Paddan-aram, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife thence from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother. 3. And may El Shaddai bless thee and make thee fruitful and multiply thee, that thou mayest become a company of peoples. 4. And may he give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee and thy seed with thee, that thou mayest possess the land of thy sojournings which God gave Abraham. 5. So Isaac sent Jacob away and he went to Paddan-aram, to Laban son of Bethuel the Aramæan, the brother of Rebekah, mother of Jacob and Esau. 6. Now Esau saw that Isaac had

¹ 'Paddan-aram.' So always in P. The older documents have *Aram-naharaim*.

² 'Then Isaac called Jacob.' It is the habitual practice of P to ignore all scandal in the families of the Patriarchs, who are to him men of ideal virtue. Thus he is silent about the fall of Adam, Noah's drunkenness, and the curse of Canaan : he knows nothing of Sarah's incredulous laugh, or of Abraham's deceit : he represents the parting of Abraham and Lot as the result of a friendly agreement (contrast vol. i. p. 21, Gen. xiii. 7) : he is silent about the expulsion of Hagar and her son, and on the contrary speaks of Isaac and Ishmael as together burying their father. Here the same spirit appears still more clearly. In the 'Oldest Book' Jacob having twice defrauded Esau, flees from his vengeance to Aram-naharaim. In P Jacob departs at the bidding of his father who, like Rebekah, has been vexed by Esau's marriage with Canaanite women, and is determined to save Jacob from the same fault, and secure him a wife among his kinsfolk in Paddan-aram.

blessed Esau and had sent him to Paddan-aram, to take him a wife thence, when he blessed him and laid a command on him, saying, Thou shalt not take a wife from the daughters of Canaan, 7. and that Jacob obeyed his father and mother and went to Paddan-aram; 8. then Esau saw that the daughters of Canaan were evil in the eyes of Isaac his father. 9. So Esau went to Ishmael and took Mahalath daughter of Ishmael son of Abraham, sister of Nebaioth to wife besides the wives he had.

JACOB IN PADDAN-ARAM [FRAGMENTARY].¹

. . . XXIX. 24. . . . And Laban gave Zilpah his maid to his daughter Leah for a maid. . . . 29. And Laban gave Rachel his daughter Bilhah his maid to be her maid. . . . XXX. 22^a. And God remembered Rachel. . . . XXXI. 18^b. . . . And [he took] all his substance which he had gathered, the cattle of his getting which he had gathered in Paddan-aram, to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan. . . . XXXIII. 18^a. So Jacob came safe to the city of Shechem which is in the land of Canaan, as he came from Paddan-aram.

DINAH AND SHECHEM.²

XXXIV. 1. *Now Dinah Leah's daughter whom she bore to*

¹ 'Jacob in Paddan-aram [fragmentary].' Usually the final editor made P the basis of the Hexateuch. Here he has dropped P in favour of the long and picturesque stories of the older narrators.

² 'Dinah and Shechem.' Comp. vol. i. p. 68 with the note there. All admit that in xxxiv. two narratives are mixed together, and it is generally agreed that the narrative given in vol. i. belongs to the Jahvist. Further we may feel a fair amount of confidence in the possibility of distinguishing the two narratives from each other. We cannot be sure about each fragment of a verse. But the division which we have adopted is substantially that of Wellh., Kuen., Cornill, Kautzsch-Socin, and is satisfactory on the whole.

Consequently, the contrast between the two narratives is clear. In both Shechem seduces Dinah, and then asks her in marriage. But in the narrative as given in vol. i. he speaks for himself: here in the narrative of vol. ii. through his father Hamor. In vol. i. there neither is or could be mention of circumcision; here it is the indispensable condition of intermarriage. There the intermarriage is simply to be between two persons, viz. Shechem and

Jacob went out to see the daughters of the land. 2^{ab}. And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of the land, saw her and took her and lay with her. 4. Then Shechem said thus to his father Hamor, Take me this girl to wife. 5. Now Jacob had heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter, but his sons were with his cattle in the field; so Jacob held his peace till they came. 6. And Hamor the father of Shechem went out to Jacob to speak with him. 7^a. And the sons of Jacob came from the field, when they heard it; and the men were grieved and very angry. 8. Then Hamor spoke with them, saying, As for Hamor my son, his soul longs for your daughter: pray, give her him to wife. 9. And make marriages with us; give us your daughters and take our daughters for yourselves. 10. And you shall dwell with us; the land shall be open to you: dwell and trade therein and settle therein. 13. But the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully and spoke [?] because he had defiled Dinah their sister, 14. and said to them, We cannot do this thing, so as to give

Dinah: here the question turns on the conditions of intermarriage between two tribes, the Bene Jacob and the Bene Hamor. There the Bene Jacob are willing to approve of the proposed marriage; the conditions are arranged, when friendly relations are broken off by the violence of Simeon and Levi, which violence their father strongly reprobates. Here the sons of Jacob never mean to permit intermarriage; their proposals are a mere stratagem, and they as a body massacre the Bene Hamor in the most treacherous manner.

But to whom is this second narrative to be attributed? When vol. i. was written, I held with little hesitation the theory propounded by Kuenen (*Theol. Tijdschr.*, xiv. pp. 257-281). He assigns it to one who belonged in a wide sense to the school of P, but who lived at a still later date. Since then, however, Wellh. has rediscussed the question in his *Nachträge*. He assigns the second narrative to a later stratum of the Elohist document. His chief argument is weighty, viz. that a corrector or interpolator writing *ex hypothesi* when the Pentateuch had canonical authority, would not have dared to reduce the Jahvist narrative to its present mutilated state. Wellhausen's contention has been ably seconded by Cornill (*Z.A.W.*, xi. 1-15). Nevertheless after careful consideration I adhere to Kuenen's view.

The traces of P's style are undoubted, though Wellh. and Cornill explain them on the theory that the text has been altered by an editor. Such traces are to be found in the word for 'prince,' 'defile' (which is at least common only in P), 'possession' (quinyan) 'that every male of you be cir-

our sister to a man who has a foreskin, for that were a reproach to us. 15. Only on this condition will we consent to you ; if you will be as we are, that every male of you be circumcised. 16. Then we will give our daughters to you and take your daughters for ourselves and we shall dwell with you and become one people. 17. But if you will not listen to us to be circumcised, then we will take our daughter and go. 18. And their words pleased Hamor and Shechem Hamor's son. 20. So Hamor and Shechem his son came to the gate of their city and spoke with the men of their city, saying, 21. These men are peaceable with us: let them dwell in the land and trade in it, for, behold, the land is large enough for them; their daughters let us take to us for wives and our daughters let us give to them. 22. But on this condition will the men give us their consent to dwell with us, so as to be one people; if every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised. 23. Shall not their cattle and their possessions and all their beasts be ours? Only let us consent to their request, that they may dwell

cumcised.' Putting aside the last instance, it is hard to see what motive any one could have had for making these insertions or alterations, which conform the style to that of P. Nor is it credible that any pre-exilic writer could have attached supreme importance to circumcision, and made it the very soul of his narrative. On the other hand the 'defilement' of heathen marriage was the *bête noire* of legalistic zealots after the exile, as any one may see who reads Ezra ix. x. Such a Jew could not fail to be shocked by the Jahvistic narrative. He had then a very strong inducement to mutilate it, and substitute another of his own. According to the new story the Shechemites were offered the right of intermarriage on admission into the Jewish Church by the sacramental right of circumcision. But even that offer was not made sincerely. The defilement of a Jewish maiden by an uncircumcised heathen could not be condoned even on condition of subsequent marriage and circumcision. It is true that P could not have written in this way. In his history of the Patriarchs we have no scenes of violence, and no deceit. But a zealot of P's school might have thought that he was doing service to his master's cause after this fashion. Doubtless there is a difficulty in understanding how he should have ventured to mutilate the Jahvistic narrative. But it is to be noted that both in Judith (ix. 2 *seq.*), as also in the 'Book of Jubilees,' despite the verdict of Gen. xlix. 5-7, the slaughter of the Shechemites is extolled as a deed of pious heroism. To such fanatical spirits the narrative of the Jahvist must have been nothing less than a scandal.

with us. 24. Then all they that went forth from the gate of his city listened to Hamor and to Shechem his son and they were circumcised, every male, all that went forth from the gate of his city. 25. And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that the sons of Jacob came on the city when it had no thought of danger and slew all the males. 27. The sons of Jacob came upon the slain and plundered the city, because they had defiled their sister. 28. They took their flocks and their herds and their asses, both that which was in the city and that which was in the field. 29. And all their wealth and all their little ones and their wives they took captive and plundered, besides all that was in the house. XXXV. 5. Then they set forth and a panic from God fell on the cities that were round about them, so that they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.

GOD APPEARS TO JACOB. THE BIRTH OF HIS SONS. ISAAC'S
DEATH.

XXXV. 9. Now God appeared to Jacob, when he came from Paddan-aram and blessed him. 10. And God said to him, Thy name is Jacob; thy name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel¹ shall thy name be: and he called his name Israel. 11. And God said to him, I am El Shaddai; be fruitful and multiply: a nation and a company of nations shall be from thee and kings shall come forth from thy loins. 12. And the land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac I will give to thee; and to thy seed after thee will I give the land. 13. Then God went up from him in the place where he spoke with him.² 15. And Jacob called the place where God spoke with him Bethel.

¹ 'Israel.' Contrast the Jahvist's account of the same event, Gen. xxxii. 25 *seq.*, vol. i. p. 65 *seq.* The editor has inserted the word 'again' in ver. 9 after 'appeared,' in the endeavour to harmonise the conflicting narratives. Something must have been omitted here, viz. P's explanation of the new name Israel.

² 'Spoke with him.' The verse which follows runs, 'And Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he spoke with him, a pillar of stone, and he poured out a drink-offering thereon, and poured oil thereon.' I omitted this

23. Now the sons of Jacob were twelve : 24. the sons of Leah, Reuben Jacob's firstborn, and Simeon and Levi and Judah and Issachar and Zebulun : 25. the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin : 26. and the sons of Bilhah, Rachel's maid, Dan and Naphtali : 27. and the sons of Zilpah Leah's maid, Gad and Asher : these are the sons of Jacob, who were born to him in Paddan-aram.¹ 27. And Jacob came to Isaac his father at Mamre at Kiriath-Arba, that is Hebron, where Abraham and Isaac had settled. 28. Now the days of Isaac were a hundred and eighty years. 29. Then Isaac expired and died and was gathered to his people, old and satisfied with days : so Esau and Jacob his sons buried him.

THE DESCENDANTS OF ESAU AND SEIR.²

XXXVI. 1. *Now these are the generations of Esau, that is*

verse in vol. i., partly, perhaps, influenced by Kuenen's opinion, that it came from the hand of the final editor who, however, used much older material. It is impossible to follow Dillm., who assigns it to P, though, as he admits, P nowhere else attributes any sacrificial act to the Patriarchs. I am now strongly inclined to think that I should have assigned the verse to the Elohist, who is fond of mentioning sacred pillars (Gen. xxviii. 18, xxxi. 13, 45, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 20, where מִזְבֵּחַ should be corrected to מַצֵּבָה; Exod. xxiv. 4). But in what connection did the verse stand originally? Cornill (*Z.A.W.*, xi. 15-20) has, I think, solved the question. It stood in the Elohist history after ver. 8, *i.e.* after the mention of the death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse. She died in the neighbourhood of Bethel, and on her grave Jacob erected a sacred stone, and poured out a libation to the soul of the dead. The drink-offering was an old heathen rite (Deut. xxxii. 38; Ps. xvi. 4). Further, we know from Æschylus and Sophocles that among the Greeks *χοαί* were made to the dead. The Persians made similar offerings to their mythical heroes (Herod. vii. 43). Wellh. (*Skizz. u. Vorarb.*, iii. p. 161) has proved that the Arabs poured libations on the graves. Here we have an interesting relic of the same rite among the Hebrews.

¹ 'All these were born to him in Paddan-aram.' For the opposite view of the older documents, see vol. i. p. 70 n. 1.

² 'The descendants of Esau and Seir.' Dillm. and Driver attribute xxxvi. in the main to P. But, as Kuenen justly remarks, 2-5 in the matter of Esau's wives contradict P in xxvi. 34, 35, xxviii. 9. Vv. 9-19 stand or fall with 2-5; and though P shows keen interest in the Israelite kingdom, it is scarcely likely that he who 'never loses sight of the sacred line of

Edom. 2. Esau took his wives from the daughters of Canaan, Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon the Horite,¹ 3. and Basemath the daughter of Ishmael, the sister of Nebaioth: 4. and Adah bore to Esau Eliphaz, and Basemath bore Reuel, 5. and Oholibamah bore Jeush and Jalam and Korah: these are the sons of Esau that were born to him in the land of Canaan.

6. Then Esau took his wives and his sons and his daughters and all the persons of his household and his cattle and all his beasts and all his possession that he had gathered in the land of Canaan and went to [the] land [of Seir]² away from his brother Jacob, 7. because their substance was too great for them to dwell together and the land of their sojournings was not able to bear them. 8. So Esau dwelt in the mountain land of Seir, Esau that is Edom.

9. Now these are the generations of Esau the father of the Edomites in the mountain land of Seir. 10. These are the names of Esau's sons, Eliphaz the son of Adah Esau's wife; Reuel the son of Basemath Esau's wife. 11. And the sons of Eliphaz were Teman, Omar, Zepho and Gatam and Kenaz. 12. Now Timna was the concubine of Eliphaz Esau's son and she bore Amalek to Eliphaz: these are the sons of Adah, Esau's wife. 13. And

descent' should give a list of Edomite kings, 31-39, still less likely that he should give a list of Horite chiefs, 20-30. This leaves 6-8, 40-43 to P. They plainly manifest their origin by their style, and the negative part of our conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that the list of chieftains descended from Esau in 40-43 is different from that in 9-19. The verses printed in a different type seem to derive their present form from the final editor of the Pentateuch, who may have drawn his statistical information from some other source, and arranged it in the form generally adopted by P. It is impossible to say what that source was or why on this occasion he deserted his favourite authority, P. We should add that Dillm. admits that here the text of P has been greatly altered and interpolated from another source, so that the difference of opinion among critics is not really great.

¹ 'Horite.' The reading of the manuscripts and versions, viz. Hivite, is generally admitted to be an ancient clerical error. Comp. vv. 20, 24, 25.

² 'Land of Seir.' The word 'Seir' is supplied by Pesh., and is necessary to the sense.

these are the sons of Reuel, Nahath and Zerah, Shammah and Mizzah: these are the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. 14. And these are the sons of Oholibamah, daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon, Esau's wife: she bore to Esau Jeush and Jalam and Korah.

15. These are the chiefs of the sons of Esau: the sons of Eliphaz Esau's firstborn were: the chief Teman, the chief Omar, the chief Zepho, the chief Kenaz, 16. the chief Korah, the chief Gatam, the chief Amalek; these are the chiefs descended from Eliphaz in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Adah. 17. And these are the sons of Reuel, Esau's son: the chief Nahath, the chief Zerah, the chief Shammah, the chief Mizzah; these are the chiefs descended from Reuel in the land of Edom; these are the sons of Basemath, Esau's wife. 18. And these are the sons of Oholibamah Esau's wife: the chief Jeush, the chief Jalam, the chief Korah; these are the chiefs descended from Oholibamah, daughter of Anah, Esau's wife. 19. These are the sons of Esau and these are their chiefs. Esau is Edom.

20. These are the sons of Seir the Horite, the aborigines of the land: Lotan and Shobal and Zibeon and Anah 21. and Dishon and Ezer and Dishan: these are the chiefs of the Horites, the sons of Seir in the land of Edom. 22. And the sons of Lotan were Hori and Hemam; and Lotan's sister was Timna. 23. And these were the sons of Shobal: Alvan and Manahath and Ebal, Shepho and Onam. 24. And these are the sons of Zibeon: Aiah and Anah — this is Anah who found the hot springs [?] in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father. 25. And these are the sons of Anah: Dishon . . . now Oholibamah was the daughter of Anah. 26. And these are the sons of Dishon, Hemdan and Eshban and Ithran and Cheran. 27. And these are the sons of Ezer: Bilhan and Zaavan and Akan. 28. These are the sons of Dishan, Uz and Aran. 29.

¹ 'Aiah.' So Sam., LXX., Vulg. The Massoretic text 'and Aiah' is corrupt, unless some preceding name has fallen out.

These are the chiefs of the Horites, the chief Lotan, the chief Shobal, the chief Zibeon, the chief Anah, 30. the chief Dishon, the chief Ezer, the chief Dishan; these are the chiefs of the Horites according to their chiefs in the land of Seir.

31. And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the children of Israel. 32. Bela the son of Beor reigned in Edom and the name of his capital was Dinhabah. 33. When Bela died, Jobab son of Zerah from Bozrah reigned in his stead. 34. When Jobab died, Husham from the land of the Temanites reigned in his stead. 35. When Husham died, Hadad son of Bedad who smote Midian in the table-land of Moab reigned in his stead: and the name of his capital was Avith. 36. When Hadad died, Samlah from Masrekah reigned in his stead. 37. When Samlah died, Shaul from Rehoboth on the river [Euphrates] reigned in his stead. 38. When Shaul died, Baal-hanan son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. 39. When Baal-hanan, son of Achbor died, Hadar reigned in his stead; now the name of his capital was Pau, and his wife's name was Mehetabel the daughter of Matred, the daughter of Me-zahab.

40. Now these are the names of the chiefs of Esau, according to their clans, according to their places, by their names: the chief Timna, the chief Alvah, the chief Jetheth, 41. the chief Oholibamah, the chief Elah, the chief Pinon, 42. the chief Kenaz, the chief Teman, the chief Mibzar, 43. the chief Magdiel, the chief Iram. These are the chiefs of Edom according to their clans in the land of their possession. This is [the progeny of] Esau the father of Edom.

XXXVII. 1. Now Jacob dwelt in the land where his father had sojourned, in the land of Canaan. 2^a. These are the generations of Jacob. . . .

FRAGMENTS FROM THE HISTORY OF JOSEPH.

. . . XLI. 46. . . . Now Joseph was thirty years old, when he

stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. So Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh and passed through all the land of Egypt.

. . . XLVI. 6. . . So they took their cattle and their substance which they had gathered in the land of Canaan and went to Egypt, Jacob and all his seed with him. 7. His sons and his sons' sons with him, his daughters and his sons' daughters and all his seed brought he with him into Egypt.

8. *Now these are the names¹ of the children of Israel, that came to Egypt, Jacob and his sons: Reuben, Jacob's firstborn, 9. and the sons of Reuben, Hanoch and Pallu and Hezron and Carmi: 10. and the sons of Simeon, Jemuel and Jamin and Ohad and Jachin and Zohar and Shaul the son of a Canaanite woman: 11. and the sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath and Merari: 12. and the sons of Judah, Er and Onan and Shelah and Perez and Zerah; but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan: and the sons of Perez were Hezron and Hamul: 13. and the sons of Issachar, Tola and Puvah and Job and Shimron: 14. and the sons of Zebulun, Sered and Elon and Jahleel. 15. These are the sons of Leah whom she bore to Jacob in Paddan-aram with his daughter Dinah; all the souls of his sons and daughters were thirty-three. 16. And the sons of Gad, Ziphion and Haggi, Shuni and Ezbon, Eri and Arodi and Areli, 17. and the sons of Asher, Imnah and Ishvah and Ishvi and Beriah and Serah their sister; and the sons of Beriah, Heber and Malchiel: 18. these are the sons of Zilpah, whom Laban gave to Leah his daughter,*

¹ 'These are the names,' vv. 8-27. Here the words and turns of expression peculiar to P constantly recur. At the same time the author seems to have had all the documents of the Hexateuch before him. Comp. in 12 the mention of Onan's death from the Jahvist in xxxviii., in 15 the mention of Dinah as in xxxiv., in 20 the mention of Asenath from the Elohist xli. 45. We may, therefore, conclude that we have here another specimen of the final editor's work, similar to that in xxxvi. He belongs to the school of P, writes in his style, and has, but in a higher degree, the same delight in statistical details which he borrows from all the sources of the Pentateuch. This is the view of Wellh., Kuen., and of others. Dillm. regards the section as by P with alterations and additions by another hand, so that the divergence of opinion is not serious.

and she bore these to Jacob, sixteen souls. 19. The sons of Rachel Jacob's wife, Joseph and Benjamin. 20. And to Joseph in the land of Egypt were born Manasseh and Ephraim, whom Asenath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On bore him. 21. And the sons of Benjamin,¹ Bela and Becher and Ashbel, Gera and Naaman, Ehi and Rosh, Muppim and Huppim and Ard. 22. And the sons of Dan, Hushim. 23. And the sons of Naphtali, Jahzeel and Guni and Jezer and Shillem. 25. These are the sons of Bilhah whom Laban gave to Rachel his daughter and these she bare to Jacob, seven souls in all. 26. All the souls belonging to Jacob that came to Egypt, having issued from his loins, besides Jacob's wives—all the souls were sixty-six. 27. And the sons of Joseph who were born to him in Egypt were two souls: all the souls belonging to the household of Egypt that came to Egypt were seventy souls.

XLVII. 5^b. And Jacob and his sons² came to Joseph in Egypt and when Pharaoh king of Egypt heard, Pharaoh spoke to Joseph, saying, Thy father and thy brothers have come to thee; 6^a. the land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land let thy father and thy brothers dwell. 7. So Joseph brought Jacob his father and placed him before Pharaoh, and Jacob blessed Pharaoh. 8. Then Pharaoh said to Jacob, How many are the days of thy life? 9. And Jacob said to Pharaoh, The days of the years of my sojourning are one hundred and thirty years.

¹ 'The sons of Benjamin.' He has ten sons born in Canaan, for the case of descendants born in Egypt is carefully noted. This, of course, is in absolute contradiction to the account of the Jahvist in vol. i. xliii. 8, xlv. 20, according to which Benjamin, at the time when his father went down to Egypt, was a mere boy. So here in ver. 9 Reuben has four sons, but according to the Elohist, xlii. 37, only two.

² 'And Jacob and his sons.' The LXX. text have here preserved the text of P intact, and the priority of this text is admitted with practical unanimity. So, e.g. Wellh., Kuen., Dillm., Delitzsch, Driver, Kautzsch-Socin. In the older history the children of Israel are allowed to settle as shepherds in Goshen. P strikes a much higher note. The 'best of the land' is placed at Joseph's disposal, and his father and brothers settle in the province of Ramses.

Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, nor have they reached the days of the years in the life of my fathers, namely the days of their sojournings. 10. So Jacob blessed Pharaoh and went forth from the presence of Pharaoh. 11. Then Joseph placed his father and his brothers and gave them possession in the land of Egypt in the best of the land in the country of Ramses, as Pharaoh had commanded. 27^b. So they took possession therein and were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly. 28. Now Jacob lived seventeen years in the land of Egypt, so that the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were a hundred and forty-seven years.

XLVIII. 3. Now Jacob said to Joseph, El Shaddai appeared to me in Luz in the land of Canaan and blessed me, 4. and said to me, Behold, I make thee fruitful and will multiply thee and will make thee a company of people and I will give thee this land to thy seed after thee as a perpetual possession. 5. And now thy two sons that were born to thee in the land of Egypt before I came to thee in Egypt are mine: Ephram and Manasseh will be mine, like Reuben and Simeon: 6. but thine issue which thou hast begotten after them shall be thine: after the name of [their two eldest] brothers shall they be called in their possession.

7. *And as for me*¹ *when I came from Paddan, Rachel's death*

¹ 'And as for me,' ver. 7. A stray verse, for which it is difficult to account. As it stands it cannot come from the 'Oldest Book,' for it uses the name Paddan peculiar to P. Nor can it belong to P, as Dillm. and Delitzsch think (Driver is doubtful), because it is based both in thought and language on the older documents, xxxv. 16, 19. Now P always uses his own style, and is never a servile copyist, moreover the verse has no connection with the context. Two plausible theories deserve notice. Budde thinks that the natural place of the verse is after xlix. 32. For in xlix. 29-32, 33 (in part) Jacob charges his sons to bury him in Macphelah, where Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah and his own wife Leah had been buried already. What of Rachel? In all probability she too according to P was buried in Macphelah, so that ver. 31 originally ended, 'There I buried Rachel and Leah.' In the 'Oldest Book' Rachel dies in Canaan in child-birth of Benjamin. P certainly could not account for her death in that way, since according to him Benjamin was born in Paddan-aram (xxxv. 24, 26). He had no motive for cutting off Rachel in her youth, and depriving her of

came on me in the land of Canaan on the road, when there was still some way to come to Ephrath, and I buried her there on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.

JACOB'S DEATH AND BURIAL.

XLIX. 1^a. And Jacob called his sons, 29. and commanded them and said to them, I am being gathered to my people, bury me with my fathers in the cave which is in the field of Ephron the Hittite, 30. in the cave which is in the field of Macphelah which is east of Mamre in the land of Canaan, which field Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite to be the possession of a grave. 31. There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife, there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife, and there I buried Leah, 32. in the field and the cave therein bought from the children of Heth. 33. [in part] So when Jacob had finished his charge to his sons he expired and was gathered to his people. L. 12. But his sons did to him, just as he had commanded them, 13. for his sons carried him to the land of Canaan and buried

a grave in the holy land. Here as elsewhere in P all is fitted to a consistent scheme. There are no quarrels, scandals, adventures or misfortunes in the Patriarchal families. Those who transmit the sacred line all marry by the same rule, and they and all their wives are buried in Macphelah. An editor, however, was obliged to erase the words 'And Rachel' from ver. 31, and immediately thereafter added xlviii. 7. Budde further tries to show by what arrangements and rearrangements of the text xlviii. 7 was left in its present forlorn position. The main part of his contention seems to me excellent. But Bruston's view is later and different. He believes that xlviii. 7 belongs to the Jahvist, and stood between xlvii. 29 and 30. The text as altered by Bruston would run thus, 29 (*ad fin.*), 'Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt.' xlviii. 7, 'And as for me when I came from *Haran*, Rachel's death came on me in the land of Canaan on the road, when there was still some way to come to Ephrath, and I buried her there on the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem, xlvii. 30. But when I sleep with my father thou shalt carry me from Egypt, and bury me in her grave.' Haran is substituted for Paddan, because this word nowhere occurs in the older writers, though Paddan-aram is, of course, common in P. (Sam., however, does read Paddan-aram here). The interpretation of xlvii. 30, and the substitution of 'her grave' for 'their grave' is justified on the very precarious ground that 'fathers' must include remoter ancestors who were not buried in Macphelah. See Budde in *Z.A.W.*, 1883, p. 56 *seq.*, and Bruston, *Z.A.W.*, 1887, p. 202 *seq.*

him in the cave of the field of Macphelah, which field Abraham bought as the possession of a grave from Ephron the Hittite east of Mamre.

THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL OPPRESSED IN EGYPT.

Exodus I. 1. Now these are the names of the children of Israel that came to Egypt with Jacob, each man with his household did they come: 2. Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah, 3. Issachar, Zebulun and Benjamin, 4. Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher. 5. Now all the souls that came forth from Jacob's loins were seventy souls, but Joseph was in Egypt. 7. Now the children of Israel were fruitful and swarmed and multiplied exceedingly and the land was filled with them. 13. But the Egyptians made the children of Israel slaves tyrannically, 14. [in part] and embittered their life by hard service, all that service of theirs which they imposed on them tyrannically. II. 23. [in part] But the children of Israel groaned because of their service and cried, so that their cry went up to God because of the service. 24. Then God heard their groaning and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob, 25. and God saw the children of Israel and God took knowledge. . . .

GOD'S REVELATION OF HIMSELF AS YAHWÈ.

VI. 2. And God spoke to Moses and said to him, I am Yahwè. 3. Now I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob as El Shaddai, but by my name Yahwè I was not known to them.¹ 4. And also I set up my covenant with them to give

¹ 'By my name Yahwè I was not known to them.' As usual P arranges everything in order. In making the second covenant, viz. that with the Patriarchs, God revealed himself by a new name, Shaddai. The meaning of Shaddai, as has been said in a previous note, is quite uncertain. But whatever the real meaning may have been it is very likely that P gave to the word the false meaning popular among the rabbis, viz. 'all-sufficient.' He used the name to indicate and mark off the special measure of revelation given to the Patriarchs. The next stage in revelation, viz. that to the people of Israel, was marked by the communication of the

them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. 5. And also I have heard the groaning of the children of Israel whom the Egyptians enslave and I remembered my covenant. 6. Therefore say to the children of Israel, I am Yahwè and I will bring you forth from beneath the burdens of the Egyptians and will deliver you from their bondage and will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with great judgments, 7. and I will take you to myself as a people and will be to you a God and you shall know that I am Yahwè your God, who brings you forth from the burdens of the Egyptians. 8. And I will bring you into the land, concerning which I lifted up my hand to give it to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, and I will give it to you as a possession: I am Yahwè. 9. Then Moses spoke accordingly to the children of Israel but they did not listen to Moses from impatience of spirit and hard bondage. 10. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 11. Go speak to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, that he send the children of Israel forth from his land.¹ 12. But Moses spoke before Yahwè saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not listened to me: how then will Pharaoh listen to me, especially since I am clumsy of speech?² 13. *And Yahwè spoke³ to Moses and Aaron and*

name Yahwè, and here he was able simply to adopt the course already taken by the Elohist (Exod. iii. 14, vol. i. p. 111), who had interpreted that name, 'I will be' in very deed 'what I will be' to my people. But whereas the Elohist places the revelation at Horeb, Yahwè's mountain, P places it later and less appropriately in Egypt. The suggestion as to the sense of Shaddai in P is borrowed from Valeton in *Z.A.W.*, 1892, p. 11 *seq.*

¹ 'From his land.' In the 'Oldest Book' Moses only asks temporary leave of absence to sacrifice in the wilderness. In P the demand is made from the first and consistently that Pharaoh should let the people go for good. The naturalness and priority of the view in the 'Oldest Book' speak for themselves.

² 'Clumsy of speech.' The literal rendering 'of uncircumcised lips' is misleading. The meaning is that the lips are covered up and impeded, so that they cannot speak easily.

³ 'And Yahwè spoke,' vv. 13-30. Plainly interpolated, for in vii. 1 we have the natural answer to the question in ver. 12, and nothing could be more awkward than the intrusion of a long and to some extent irrelevant genealogy between the verses. There is no analogy in P for this helpless

gave them a charge for the children of Israel and Pharaoh king of the Egyptians to bring forth the children of Israel from the land of Egypt.

GENEALOGY OF MOSES AND AARON.

14. *These are the heads of their fathers' houses: the sons of Reuben Israel's firstborn: Hanoch and Pallu, Hezron and Carmi; these are the clans of Reuben.* 15. *And the sons of Simeon: Jemuel and Jamin and Ohad and Jachin and Zohar and Shaul son of the Canaanite woman; these are the clans of Simeon.* 16. *And these are the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon and Kohath and Merari; and the years of Levi's life were one hundred and thirty-seven years.* 17. *The sons of Gershon, Libni and Shimei according to their clans.* 18. *And the sons of Kohath Amram and Izhar and Hebron and Uzziel; and the years of the life of Kohath were a hundred and thirty-three years.* 19. *And the sons of Merari; Mahli and Mushi. These are the clans of Levi according to their generations.* 20. *And Amram took him Jochebed his aunt to wife and she bore him Aaron and Moses, and the years of Amram's life were a hundred and thirty-seven years.* 21. *And the sons of Jizhar: Korah and Nepheg and Zichri.* 22. *And the sons of Uzziel: Mishaël and Elzaphan and Sithri.* 23.

style of writing. The verses are, no doubt, in the style of P, and may in part belong to some other section of his narrative. In part, for ver. 25 implies that it is the genealogy of the Levites which has been given, so that the genealogies of Reuben and Simeon in vv. 14 and 15 must be excluded. So ver. 13 unduly anticipates vii. 1. But even 16-25 are admittedly out of place here, and it is difficult to see, if they originally belonged to P, what motive an editor had for moving them out of their proper place. Probably Kuenen (*Onderz.*, i. 1, § 16, 12), is right in regarding 13-30 as an insertion by a very late hand, borrowing partly from the rest of the Pentateuch, partly from such Levitical genealogies as were current after the exile (comp. 1 Chron. v. 27—vi. 38). The interpolator did not trouble himself much about the order of the narrative, and was content to repeat the substance of 10-12 in 28-30. Holzinger (*Einleit. Hexateuch*, i. p. 499) seems to accept Kuenen's view. The theory of Bacon that 16-25 may have originally followed i. 7 does not explain how a genealogy in which Aaron is so prominent came to be inserted before Aaron had been mentioned at all.

And Aaron took him Elisheba daughter of Amminadab sister of Nahshon to wife, and she bare him Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. 24. And the sons of Korah: Assir and Elkanah and Abiasaph. These are the clans of the Korahites. 25. And Eleazar son of Aaron took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife, and she bore him Phinehas. These are the ancestors of the Levites according to their clans. 26. These are that Aaron and Moses to whom Yahwè said, Bring forth the children of Israel from the land of Egypt in their hosts. 27. It is they that spoke to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians to bring forth the children of Israel from Egypt, namely Moses and Aaron.

THE WONDERS IN EGYPT.¹

28. And it came to pass on the day that Yahwè spoke to Moses in the land of Egypt, 29. that Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, I am Yahwè, speak to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, all that I am speaking to thee. 30. Then Moses said before Yahwè, I am clumsy of speech, and how will Pharaoh listen to me? VII. 1. And Yahwè said to Moses, See, I have made thee a god for Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet. 2. Thou shalt speak all that I command thee, but Aaron thy brother shall deliver it to Pharaoh, that he let the children of

¹ 'The wonders in Egypt.' The history which follows gives an admirable illustration of P's manner, and should be carefully compared with the parallel accounts in vol. i. Notice how each of the wonders is related in the same formal way, and with the almost invariable repetition of the same words and phrases. Yahwè speaks to Moses, Moses to Aaron, and Aaron works the marvel with his rod. The only exception is in the case of the last wonder, viz. the bringing of boils on man and cattle, while even there Moses and Aaron take an equal part. In P a contest is carried on between Moses and Aaron on the one side, the heathen magicians on the other. For a time Moses and Aaron prevail, but not decisively: then in the change of dust into gnats, which involves the production of life, the magicians fail utterly, and acknowledge that a divine power is enlisted against them. Finally they are ignominiously routed, for the boils make them unable even to stand before Pharaoh. P also inserts chronological details which are in perfect keeping with his dry and systematic method.

Israel go out of his land. 3. But I will harden Pharaoh's heart and I will multiply my signs and my wonders in the land of Egypt. 4. But Pharaoh will not listen to you, so I will lay my hand on the Egyptians and will bring forth my hosts, my people, the children of Israel by great judgments, 5. that the Egyptians may know, that I am Yahwè, when I stretch out my hand on the Egyptians, that I may bring forth the children of Israel from the midst of them. 6. And Moses and Aaron did—as Yahwè commanded them, so did they. 7. Now Moses was eighty years old and Aaron was eighty-three years old, when they spoke to Pharaoh.

THE RODS TURNED INTO REPTILES.

8. Then Yahwè said to Moses and to Aaron, thus, 9. If Pharaoh speak to you, saying, Show a wonder in your behalf, thou shalt say to Aaron, Take thy rod and cast it down before Pharaoh, that it become a reptile.¹ 10. So Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and did just as Yahwè had commanded them; and Aaron cast his rod down before Pharaoh and his servants and it became a reptile. 11. Then Pharaoh also called wise men and sorcerers and they also, the magicians of the Egyptians, did in like manner with their enchantments. 12. And they cast down, each of them, his rod and they became reptiles, but Aaron's rod swallowed their rods. 13. But Pharaoh's heart was hard, and he did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said.

WATER TURNED INTO BLOOD.

19. Then Yahwè said to Moses, Say to Aaron, Take thy rod and stretch thy hand over the waters of the Egyptians, over their

¹ 'Reptile,' 'tannin,' not 'nahash,' 'serpent,' as in the Jahvist, vol. i. p. 112. In P the miracle of the rod or staff becomes one of the five marvels in which the emissaries of Yahwè and Pharaoh compete with each other. In the 'Oldest Book' the sign of the rod changed into a serpent is quite distinct from the seven plagues.

rivers, over their canals, and over their pools and over all their reservoirs of waters, that they may become blood, and there shall be blood in all the land of the Egyptians and on the trees and the stones. 20^a. So Moses and Aaron did just as Yahwè commanded them, 21^b. and the blood came in all the land of the Egyptians. 22. And so the magicians of the Egyptians did by their enchantments, and Pharaoh's heart was hard and he did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said.

THE FROGS.

VIII. 1. Then Yahwè said to Moses, Stretch thy hand with thy rod over the rivers, over the canals and over the pools and bring up the frogs over the land of the Egyptians. 2. So Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of the Egyptians, so that the frogs came up and covered the land of the Egyptians. 3. And so the magicians did with their enchantments and brought up the frogs upon the land of the Egyptians, 11^b. . . . but [Pharaoh] did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said.

DUST TURNED INTO GNATS.

12. Then Yahwè said to Moses, say to Aaron, Stretch forth thy rod and strike the dust of the earth, that it may become gnats¹ in all the land of the Egyptians. 13. And they did so, and Aaron stretched forth his hand with his rod and struck the dust of the earth, so that it became gnats on man and cattle: all the dust of the earth became gnats in all the land of the Egyptians. 14. And so did the magicians with their enchantments try to bring forth gnats, but they could not. And the gnats were on man and cattle. 15. And the magicians said to Pharaoh, The finger of God is here. But Pharaoh's heart was hard and he did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said.

¹ 'Gnats.' They correspond to the gadfly of the Jahvist, vol. i. p. 119.

SOOT PRODUCING BOILS.

IX. 8. Then Yahwè said to Moses and to Aaron, Take you both hands full of soot from the furnace and let Moses sprinkle it towards the heavens in the sight of Pharaoh. 9. And it shall become fine dust over all the land of the Egyptians and shall turn to inflammation of skin breaking forth in pustules¹ on man and cattle through all the land of the Egyptians. 10. And they took soot from the furnace and stood before Pharaoh, and Moses sprinkled it towards the heavens and it became inflammation of skin with pustules, breaking forth on men and cattle, through all the land of the Egyptians. 11. And the magicians could not stand before Moses because of the inflammation of skin, for the inflammation of skin was on the magicians and on all the Egyptians. 12. But Yahwè hardened the heart of Pharaoh, so that he did not listen to them, as Yahwè had said to Moses.

XI. 9. *Then Yahwè said² to Moses, Pharaoh will not listen to you, that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Egypt.* 10. *Now Moses and Aaron did all these wonders before Pharaoh, but Yahwè hardened Pharaoh's heart and he did not let the children of Israel go from his land.*

THE PASSOVER AND THE DEATH OF THE FIRSTBORN.

XII. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron in the land of the Egyptians, saying, 2. This month is to stand for you at

¹ 'Pustules' or boils on men and cattle. Comp. the 'murrain' of the Jahvist, vol. i. p. 120 *seq.*

² 'Then Yahwè said,' etc., vv. 9-10. Clearly in the style and after the view of P, according to whom, and according to whom alone, the wonders are done jointly by Moses and Aaron. At the same time the verses were probably written by the editor of the Pentateuch, who belonged to the school of P, as a conclusion to the whole account of the plagues in the completed and composite work. For we are told here that the 'wonders' are still to be multiplied, whereas, according to P, the 'wonders' were over, and the 'judgments' were to begin.

the head of the months: it shall be for you the first among the months¹ of the year. 3. Speak to all the congregation of Israel, saying, on the tenth of this month each shall take a lamb or kid for each single family. 4. But if the family be too few for a lamb or kid, then shall he and his neighbour nearest to his house take according to the number of persons; each according to what you can eat, shall you reckon for the lamb or kid. 5. Your lamb or kid shall be perfect, male, a year old: from the sheep or goats² shall you take it. 6. And you shall keep it till the fourteenth day of this month, and all the company of the congregation of Israel shall slay it about eventide.³ 7. And they shall take of the blood and put it on the two doorposts and on the lintel, on the houses wherein they shall eat it.⁴ 8. And

¹ 'First among the months.' In the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 22, the year ended (and hence, of course, the new year began) in autumn when the fruits were gathered in, and the circle of agricultural work was complete. This seems to have been the ancient Israelite mode of reckoning. (Comp. 1 Sam. i. 20 with Driver's note, also Isa. xxix. 1, xxxii. 10.) Even in P this mode of reckoning from autumn to autumn has left its mark, as we shall see when we come to the Feast of Trumpets. But the mode of beginning the year in spring was Babylonian, and probably the emphatic assertion here that the year is to begin then is one of the many marks that P wrote after the exile. It is not impossible that it was known, as Dillm. contends, among the Hebrews at a much earlier time, but such passages as Jer. i. 3, xxviii. 1, 17, xli. 1; 2 Kings xxv. 1, 3, 8, do not prove the point. They are of uncertain origin, and may have been added by an editor. The facts are fully stated in Nowack, *Archäol. Hebr.*, i. p. 218 *seq.*

² 'Sheep or goats.' Deut. xvi. 2 also permits the choice of a bullock.

³ 'About eventide,' lit. 'between the two evenings,' *i.e.* all the time that lies between the moment at which evening as distinct from day begins, and the moment when evening ceases and gives place to utter darkness. Here, as in Gen. i. 5, etc. (also P), the day begins with the morning: otherwise the fourteenth day of the month would have had two evenings, that on which it began and that on which it ended, and it would have been necessary to say which of the two was intended; but here it is taken for granted that the day, as with us, has only one evening.

⁴ 'In the houses wherein they shall eat it.' According to Deut. xvi. 7 it could only be eaten at the central shrine. P here for once surrenders the strict centralisation of worship, but this is partly accounted for by the fact that he almost ignores the sacrificial character of the Paschal meal. The sprinkling of the blood on the doorposts and lintel was doubtless also

they shall eat the flesh in this night : roasted with fire and with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs shall they eat it. 9. You shall not eat thereof raw or boiled in water¹ but roasted with fire, its head with its legs and with its inwards. 10. Nor shall you leave thereof till the morning, but what is left thereof till the morning you shall burn with fire. 11. And thus shall you eat it ; with your loins girt, your sandals on your feet and your staff in your hand and you shall eat it in haste : it is a Passover for Yahwè. 12. For I will cross through the land of the Egyptians on that night and will smite every firstborn in the land of the Egyptians from man to cattle and on all the gods of the Egyptians I will execute judgments : I am Yahwè. 13. But the blood shall be to you for a sign on the houses wherein you are, and I will see the blood and will pass you over² and no plague shall be on you to destroy, when I smite in the land of the Egyptians. 14.

ancient. The Bedouin still avert the influence of demons by sprinkling blood when they till land for the first time, dig a well, or set up a new building. See Doughty's *Arab. Desert*, i. pp. 136, 452. In Deut. this rite is omitted because the celebration of the feast at the central shrine made it impossible.

¹ 'Boiled in water.' Contrast Deut. xvi. 7. The Deuteronomist was, to say the least, indifferent whether the victim was boiled or roasted : P insists on the latter mode of cooking. In the old rite apparently (1 Sam. ii. 13 *seq.*) the flesh of the victim was boiled, so that P represents the later use.

² 'Pass you over.' P connects 'Pasach' 'to leap' or 'pass' over with the name of the feast, viz. 'Pesach.' The name is undoubtedly ancient, though it occurs first in Deut. (in Exod. xxxiv. 25 the word is an interpolation). The Pesach was the only one of the three, or rather four, great feasts which Israel could keep as a nomad people before its settlement in Canaan. 'Unleavened Bread' at the beginning of harvest, 'Weeks' at the end of the harvest, 'Ingathering' at the end of the vintage, clearly imply agricultural life. The 'Oldest Book,' therefore, in a truly historical spirit, represents the Israelites, a nomad tribe in Egypt, as desiring to celebrate this ancient rite in the congenial surroundings of the wilderness. Because Pharaoh will not permit the sacrifice of the first-born animals at Pesach to Yahwè, Yahwè destroys the firstborn of the Egyptians. Thus Pesach is the motive of the Exodus. In P, on the contrary, the motive of the Exodus has nothing to do with the Pesach : the Israelites desire complete freedom from the first, and demand leave to quit Egypt entirely. But the Pesach causes Yahwè to 'pass over' Israel when he smites their oppressors, and thus it is the Exodus which is the occasion of the Pesach.

And this shall be to you for a memorial and you shall keep it a feast to Yahwè: throughout your generations shall you celebrate it as a perpetual ordinance. 15. Seven days shall you eat unleavened bread, even on the first day you shall remove all leaven from your houses, for whosoever eats leavened bread from the first day till the seventh, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. 16. And on the first day you shall have a holy convocation and on the seventh day a holy convocation: no work shall be done thereon, only that which every soul must eat, shall be prepared by you. 17. And you shall keep the [ordinance of] unleavened bread, for in this selfsame day I brought forth your hosts from the land of the Egyptians: so you shall keep this day throughout your generations as a perpetual ordinance. 18. In the first month¹ on the fourteenth day of the month in the evening shall you eat unleavened bread [and so] till the twenty-first day of the month in the evening. 19. Seven days shall no leaven be found in your houses, for whosoever eats anything that is leavened, that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a settler² or born in the land. 20. Nothing that is leavened

¹ 'First month.' In Deut. xvi. 1 we have the old Hebrew name Abib. P always designates the months by numerals.

² 'Settler.' In P the ger or settler is bound to refrain from idolatry, Lev. xx. 2; from incest and unchastity, xviii. 26; from eating blood, xvii. 10. He had to keep the Sabbath and the feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles; he had to fast on the Day of Atonement, xvi. 29, and here he is bound by the law of unleavened bread. The same methods of purification prescribed for the Israelites were imposed on him, Num. xv. 14, 26, 29. If he chose to be circumcised he could keep the Passover and enter into the full rights of an Israelite. See below, ver. 48. This legislation proceeds from anxious desire to preserve the purity of the land, and really implies that Israel, having ceased to be a nation, had become a church. Of course, this ideal could not be carried out, except where the law was accepted freely by converts to Jewish Monotheism. The older codes treated the gerim or settlers in a wholly different spirit. In the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 12, the settler is to share in the Sabbath, but this is a boon conferred on him for his own refreshment: and so in Deut. xvi. 9 *seq.*, xxvi. 12, xxxi. 12, it is from motives of mercy that the settlers are allowed to share in the feasts, though the last passage provides for the religious instruction of the settler, and thus prepares the way for the position of the 'ger' in P, which is in effect that of a proselyte.

shall you eat: in all your dwellings shall you eat unleavened bread. 28. Then the children of Israel went and did, as Yahwè commanded Moses and Aaron: so did they. . . . 37^a. And the children of Israel¹ set out from Ramses to Succoth about six hundred thousand men. . . .

40. Now the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in Egypt was four hundred and thirty years. 41. And it came to pass at the end of four hundred and thirty years, it came to pass on that selfsame day that all Yahwè's hosts went out from the land of the Egyptians. 42. It is a night to be observed to Yahwè because of his bringing them forth from the land of the Egyptians: this is that night of Yahwè's to be observed by all the children of Israel in their generations.

43. And Yahwè said to Moses and Aaron, This is the statute of the Passover: no foreigner shall eat of it. 44. But as for every slave that a man has bought with money, thou shalt circumcise him: then shall he eat it. 45. A sojourner and a hired servant shall not eat of it. 46. In one house shall it be eaten: thou shalt not carry any of the flesh forth out of the house: neither shall you break a bone of it. 47. The whole congregation of Israel shall celebrate it. 48. And when a settler shall settle with thee and will keep the Passover to Yahwè, every male of his shall be circumcised and then shall he draw near to keep it and he shall be as a native of the land; but no one that is uncircumcised shall eat of it. 49. One law shall there be for the native and for the settler that settles in your midst. 50. So all the children of Israel did, as Yahwè commanded Moses and Aaron: thus did they. 51. And it came to pass on this selfsame day that Yahwè brought the children of Israel forth from the land of the Egyptians by their hosts. XIII. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Set apart as consecrated to me all the

¹ 'And the children of Israel,' etc. . See vol. i. p. 126, n. 1. P must, of course, have narrated the death of the Egyptian firstborn, but his account has been dropped in favour of that given by the older documents.

firstborn, all that opens the womb, whether man or beast : mine they are.

THE EXODUS.

20. And they set out from Succoth and encamped in Etham at the edge of the wilderness. XIV. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel, that they turn back and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea before Baal-zephon : over against it shall you encamp by the sea. 3. And Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land : the wilderness has shut them in. 4. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, so that he will follow after them, and I will be glorified in Pharaoh and in all his army and the Egyptians shall know that I am Yahwè. And so they did. 8. Then Yahwè hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of the Egyptians and he followed after the children of Israel, as the children of Israel were going forth with a high hand ; 9^b. and they overtook them encamped by the sea at Pi-hahiroth before Baal-zephon. 15. And Yahwè said to Moses, Why criest thou to me? Speak to the children of Israel, that they go forward. 16. But do thou stretch forth thy hand over the sea and cleave it that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry land. 17. And I, behold, I am hardening the heart of the Egyptians so that they will come after you, and I will be glorified in Pharaoh and in all his army, in his chariots and horsemen. 18. And the Egyptians shall know that I am Yahwè, when I am glorified on Pharaoh, his horsemen and his chariots. 21^a. Then Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, 22. and the children of Israel went through the midst of the sea on dry land, and the waters were a wall to them on the right and the left ; 23. and the Egyptians followed and came after them, all the horses of Pharaoh, his chariots and his horsemen, to the midst of the sea. 26. Then Yahwè said to Moses, Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, that the waters may return upon the Egyptians, their chariots and their horsemen.

27^a. So Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, 28^a. and the waters returned and covered the chariots and horsemen of all Pharaoh's army that came after them in the sea. 29. But the children of Israel went on dry ground through the midst of the sea, and the waters were to them a wall on the right hand and the left.

THE MANNA AND QUAILS.¹ THE JOURNEY TO SINAI.

. . . XVI. 1. Then they set forth from Elim and the whole congregation of the children of Israel came to the wilderness of

¹ 'The manna and quails.' In vol. i. I passed over this chapter, because I believed with Kuenen that it came entirely from the 'Priestly Writer' and his school. Since then, Bacon's reasoning (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*) has convinced me that I was mistaken. We have (1.) An account of the manna by the Elohist, which is referred to in Deut. viii. 16 (where see Driver's note). Fragments of this account are contained in vv. 4, 15^a, 16^a, 19-21, 35. It was as follows: The manna which God sent was so slight of texture that it melted under the sun's heat. God tried the children of Israel by forbidding them to make any provision for the morrow. They were to gather no more than they could eat on the day. They, however, broke this command—but what they put aside for the next day turned putrid. (2.) An account by P. Yahwè, in answer to the murmurs of the Israelites, sent them quails in the evening, manna in the morning. The manna was like coriander seed, and the Israelites were to gather an omer a head. (3.) A new character has been given to the narrative of P by a later writer of his school, who was probably the compiler of the Pentateuch in what is substantially its present form. He reconciles the command in the Elohist, viz. that each was to gather what he needed for the day, with the order in P that each was to gather an omer, by the harmonistic miracle, in vv. 17, 18, viz. that, however much or little a man seemed to gather, the amount always measured an omer. Next he tells us that on Fridays there was a double supply, while none fell on the Sabbath, and further that the omer kept for Sabbath use did not putrify. The people, however, went to seek manna on the Sabbath. There was, of course, none to be found, and Moses rebuked them, and enforced the sanctity of the day. Notice that here the manna is so firm of texture that it can be boiled or baked. It is perhaps this same later hand which in vv. 32-34 inserted the command to place a pot of manna before the ark in perpetual memorial. Originally the narrative of P must have occupied a later place in the history, since it implies throughout the existence of the tabernacle. I have been obliged to omit ver. 5 because it is unintelligible apart from the Elohist ver. 4, which it expands and interprets. It belongs to the latest editor.

Sin which is between Elim and Sinai, on the fifteenth day of the second month after their going out of the land of the Egyptians. 2. But all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, 3. and the children of Israel said to them, Would we had died by Yahwè's hand in the land of the Egyptians, while we sat by the flesh-pots, while we ate bread to the full, for you have brought us forth to this wilderness to kill all this company with hunger. 9. Then Moses said to Aaron, Say to all the congregation of the children of Israel, Draw near before Yahwè, for he has heard your murmurings. 10. And it came to pass, as Aaron was speaking to all the congregation of the children of Israel, that they turned to the sanctuary,¹ and, behold, the glory of Yahwè was seen in the cloud. 11. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 12. I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel; speak to them, saying, About eventide you shall eat flesh and in the morning you shall be satisfied with bread, and you shall know that I am Yahwè your God. 6. So Moses² and Aaron said to all the children of Israel. In the evening you shall know that Yahwè has brought you forth from the land of the Egyptians, 7. and in the morning then you shall see the glory of Yahwè, because he has heard your murmurings against Yahwè, but what are we that you murmur against us? 8. *But Moses meant, Through Yahwè giving you in the evening flesh to eat and bread in the morning to the full, because Yahwè has heard your murmurings wherewith you murmur against us: and what are we? your murmurings are not against us but against Yahwè.* 13. And it came to pass in

¹ 'To the sanctuary.' It is hard to make any sense of the words as they stand, viz. 'to the wilderness.' Ewald (*Gesch.*, ii. p. 308) proposed to read 'to the sanctuary' or 'to the tent of meeting,' and some such suggestion is probable in the highest degree. But it occurred to a later scribe, after the narrative of P had been misplaced by its union with the Elohist accounts that the sanctuary or tabernacle had not as yet been built. Hence the present text, which, however, leaves the same difficulty elsewhere.

² 'So Moses,' etc., ver. 6. The original order of the verses has been restored. It is clear that this order has been disturbed by a blunder of the copyists.

the evening that flocks of quails came up and covered the camp and in the morning there was a fall of dew round the camp. 14. And, as the layer of dew rose, behold, there was on the surface of the wilderness, something fine and granulous, fine as the [grains of] hoar-frost on the earth. 15^b. And Moses said to them, This is the bread which Yahwè has given you to eat: 16^b. an omer a head according to the number of your persons shall you take it, each for those who are in his tent. 17. *And the children of Israel did so and gathered some more, some less.* 18. *But when they measured it with an omer, he that gathered much had no more and he that gathered little had no less: they had gathered, each according to his need.*

. . . 22. *And it came to pass on the sixth day that they gathered twice as much bread, two omers for each and all the princes of the congregation went and told Moses.* 23. *And he said to them, This is that which Yahwè spoke, To-morrow is a solemn rest, a holy Sabbath to Yahwè; bake that which you will bake and boil that which you will boil, but put aside for yourselves all which is over to be kept till the morning.* 24. *So they put it aside till the morning, as Moses had commanded and it did not stink neither was there any worm therein.* 25. *Then Moses said, Eat it to-day, for to-day is a Sabbath to Yahwè, to-day you shall not find it in the field.* 26. *Six days shall you gather it, but on the seventh day is a Sabbath, on which there shall be none.* 27. *And it came to pass on the seventh day that some of the people went out to gather but found none.* 28. *Then Yahwè said to Moses, How long do you refuse to keep my commandments and my law?* 29. *See; since Yahwè has given you the Sabbath, therefore he gives you bread for two days on the sixth day: stay, each of you, where he is, let none go out from his place on the seventh day.* 30. *So the people rested on the seventh day.* 31. *And the house of Israel called its name Man,¹ and it was like*

¹ 'Man,' instead of manna, in allusion to the curious derivation given (perhaps) by the Elohist in ver. 15, viz. from 'man,' Aramaic for Hebr. 'mah,' 'What?' i.e. 'What is this?'

coriander seed, white, and its taste was like wafer [?] with honey. 32. *Then Moses said, This is the thing which Yahwè has commanded, Let an omerful of it be kept for your generations, that they may see the bread with which I fed you in the wilderness when I brought you forth from the land of the Egyptians.* 33. *So Moses said to Aaron, Take a pot and place there an omerful of man and set it before Yahwè to be kept for your generations.* 34. *[So Aaron¹ filled a pot with an omerful of man] as Yahwè had commanded Moses, and Aaron placed it before the testimony² to be kept.* 35^b. And the children of Israel ate the manna forty years till they came to the borders of the land of Canaan. 36. *Now the omer is the tenth part of an ephah.*

XVII. 1^a. Then all the congregation of the children of Israel journeyed from the wilderness of Sin by their stations. XIX. 1. In the third month after the children of Israel were gone forth from the land of Egypt . . . on this day³ they came to the wilderness of Sinai: 2^a and when they had sojourned from Raphidim and come to the wilderness of Sinai, they encamped in the wilderness.

YAHWÈ SPEAKS TO MOSES.

XXIV. 15^b. And the cloud covered the mountain. 16. And the glory of Yahwè dwelt on Mount Sinai, but the cloud covered it six days: then he called to Moses on the seventh day from the midst of the cloud. 17. Now the appearance of the glory of

¹ 'So Aaron filled,' etc. Some such words must be supplied, the sentence having been mutilated by mistake.

² 'Testimony,' *i.e.* in P, who uses this technical term very frequently and in various combinations, the two tables of the decalogue, which testified in brief summary Yahwè's chief requirements from his people. Here the ark of the testimony is intended, *i.e.* the ark in which the two tables of the law were according to P placed.

³ 'This day.' These words must have been preceded in P by the number of the day of the month. The date may, as Dillm. suggests, have been erased by the final editor, because he thought that it did not allow sufficient time for the facts as stated in the composite history.



Yahwè was like devouring fire on the head of the mountain before the eyes of the children of Israel. 18^a. So Moses entered into the midst of the cloud.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE TABERNACLE.¹

XXV. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to

¹ 'The tabernacle.' The elaborate directions which follow differ in a remarkable degree from the simple account of the Elohist (Exod. xxxiii. 7 *seq.*, vol. i. p. 155, see n. 1), with whom the 'tent of meeting' is a mere shelter for the ark, placed outside the camp (not like the tabernacle in its centre), guarded by Joshua (laymen and even Levites who are not priests cannot enter the tabernacle as P conceives it), and never represented as the one and only place of sacrifice. The conception of the tabernacle proves of itself the late date of P. It is never mentioned in Old Testament historical books save in Chronicles, which book depends upon P, and so cannot confirm it. How unhistorical the statements of the chronicler are is clear from 2 Chron. i. 3 *seq.*, where we are told that Solomon sacrificed on the high place at Gibeon, because the tent of meeting constructed by Moses was there, whereas the original writer of 1 Kings iii. regards the sacrifice on 'the great high place' as a matter of course, and the Deuteronomical editor (see ver. 2) excuses the act on a totally different ground from that given by the chronicler, viz., that 'there was no house built for the name of Yahwè in these days.' One passage which might be quoted on the other side, viz. 1 Sam. ii. 22, is really a brilliant example of exceptions which prove the rule, for though the Massoretic text does mention the 'tent of meeting' at Shiloh, the words are wanting in the LXX., and elsewhere we learn that the sacred place at Shiloh was not a tent but a 'temple' (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3, 15). Further, it appears from 1 Sam. iv.-vi. that the ark was quite independent of any tent. It went into battle, and was seized by the Philistines who placed it in their temple. It was restored to Israel, and placed in a private house at Kiriath-jearim, and stayed there for many years. Thence it travelled to the dwelling of a Philistine, Obed-edom of Gath, who was probably one of David's bodyguard, till (2 Sam. vi. 17) it was placed in a tent which David prepared for the purpose, and finally in Solomon's temple. The statement in 1 Kings viii. 4, that Solomon caused the tent of meeting and all its furniture to be brought up to the new temple, is clearly an interpolation inconsistent with the rest of the narrative. What became of the brazen altar? Why did Solomon make new vessels for sacred use? The original ones, if we accept P's account, were in part more costly, and were besides hallowed by their sacred origin and their antiquity.

Moreover, the tabernacle as described by P implies a complete centralisation of worship unknown to Israel or to Judah before the days of Josiah, or at the earliest Hezekiah. Its divisions into outer court, holy place,

the children of Israel, that they take for me an offering; from every man whose heart shall impel him, shall you take my offering. 3. Now this is the offering which you shall take from them, gold, silver and copper, 4. and blue and purple and scarlet and byssus and goats' hair, 5. and rams' skins dyed red and porpoise skins and acacia wood, 6. oil for the light, spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense, 7. shoham stones and stones for setting in the ephod and the breastplate. 8. And they shall make for me a sanctuary, so that I may dwell in the midst of them. 9. According to all that I show thee, according to the model of the tabernacle and the model of all its furniture, shall you make it.

DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING THE ARK.

10. And they shall make an ark of acacia wood; two cubits and a half shall be its length and a cubit and a half its breadth and a cubit and a half its height. 11. And thou shalt cover it with pure gold; within and without shalt thou cover it and thou shalt make upon it a gold moulding round about. 12. And thou shalt cast four gold rings for it and set them on its four feet, so that there shall be two rings on one of its sides and two rings on the other. 13. And thou shalt make staves of acacia wood and shalt cover them with gold. 14. And thou shalt put the staves in the rings on the sides of the ark to carry the ark therewith. 15. The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: they shall not be taken from it. 16. And thou shalt place in the ark the testimony¹ which I shall give thee. 17. And thou shalt

and Holy of Holies involves an utter severance of clergy from laity, and a line of demarcation between Levites and priests, priests and high priest, unknown, so far as the latter distinction goes, even to Ezekiel. P transports the elaborate system of the second temple back to the time of Moses, and for this purpose describes a building on the plan of Solomon's temple, but in the form of a portable tent. The furniture of the tabernacle is borrowed from the same source, and modified in the same way, *i.e.* it is rendered portable. The brazen sea, which could scarcely be so modified, is, perhaps, in the original draft of P, left out altogether.

¹ 'Testimony.' See note, xvi. 34.

make a covering slab¹ of pure gold, two cubits and a half shall be its length and a cubit and a half its breadth. 18. And thou shalt make two golden cherubim;² of turned work shalt thou make them at the two ends of the covering slab. 19. And make one cherub at the end on one side and one cherub at the end on the other side; of one piece with the covering slab shall you make the cherubim at its two ends. 20 And the cherubim shall spread their wings upwards, so as to cover the covering slab with their wings, while they face each other: the faces of the cherubim shall be turned towards the covering slab. 21. And thou shalt set the covering slab above over the ark and thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee. 22. And there I will make myself known to thee and will speak with thee from the covering slab between the two cherubim which are on the ark of the testimony, whenever I have a command to give thee for the children of Israel.

FOR MAKING THE TABLE FOR THE SHEW-BREAD.³

23. And thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits

¹ 'Covering slab,' in Hebr. *Kapporeth*. Our English word 'mercy-seat' follows the LXX., *ἱλαστήριον*, Vulg. *propitiatorium*. This translation assumes that the Hebr. word Kapporeth is derived from the verb, Kipper, 'to make atonement.' But nothing is said here of the Kapporeth as a place of atonement: it was at the altar that the atoning blood was offered, and it is only in Lev. xvi., which is a late addition to the Priestly code, that any mention is made of placing blood on the Kapporeth. It is now generally admitted that the word is derived from 'kaphar,' 'to cover.' It was, not the lid, but a separate slab over the ark.

² 'Cherubim.' For the original meaning of this mythological name, see vol. i. p. 7, n. 1, and add a possible connection with the Assyrian 'Kurubu,' said to mean vulture. As in Gen. iii. cherubim guard the Garden of Eden, so in Solomon's temple they protected the 'debir,' or inner shrine, where Yahwè dwelt. They were ten cubits high, and had wings stretching five cubits each way. The cherubim here are a recollection of those in Solomon's temple. But, in order to be easily carried, they are reduced in size and of one piece with the ark.

³ 'Table for the Shew-bread.' Such a table or altar existed in Solomon's temple. Comp. Ezek. xli. 22, and see 1 Kings vi. 20, where we should read with the Alexandrian ms. of the LXX., 'and he made an altar of cedar.'

shall its length be, and its breadth a cubit, and its height a cubit and a half. 24. And thou shalt cover it with pure gold and shalt make for it a gold moulding round about. 25. And thou shalt make for it a border of a handbreadth round about and thou shalt make a golden moulding for its border round about. 26. And thou shalt make for it four golden rings and shalt put the rings in the four corners that are on its four feet. 27. Close by the border shall the four rings be, to receive the staves for carrying the table. 28. And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood and shalt cover them with gold, that the table may be carried therewith. 29. And thou shalt make the dishes thereof and its cups and its cans and its bowls wherewith the libation is made: now thou shalt make these of pure gold. 30. And thou shalt place on the table the shewbread before me continually.

FOR MAKING THE GOLDEN CANDLESTICK.¹

31. And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold; of turned work shall the candlestick be made, its base and its shaft: its calyxes—with its buds and flowers—shall be of one

The shew-bread is an ancient Hebrew institution, as appears from 1 Sam. xxi. Bread formed part of the sacrifice, just as it formed part of ordinary meals. See 1 Sam. x. 3, Amos iv. 5. But the shew-bread, or 'bread of the presence,' was not consumed by fire, and so offered food in a sublimated form to the deity. It was simply placed before him in his shrine. The lectisternia of the Romans, and the like practice among, *e.g.* the Babylonians (*Herod.* i. 181, 183) offer an obvious analogy. The shew-bread was, like other sacrifices, the 'bread of God' (Lev. xxi. 6), and originally, whether the offering was burnt or not, the god, as the phrase implies, was supposed to feed on it. But the Hebrews, when first we hear of the shew-bread, had advanced beyond the crude theory that God in person consumed solid food. He only did so through the agency of his priests. On the original import of the rite, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 207 *seq.*

¹ 'The golden candlestick.' In Solomon's temple there seem to have been ten candelabra, made perhaps of bronze. True, the passage in which these candelabra are mentioned, 1 Kings vii. 48-50 (so also Jer. liii. 19), is regarded on strong grounds as an interpolation. (See Stade in *Z. A. W.*, iii. p. 168 *seq.*) But the interpolator must have had some traditional reason for the number ten.

piece with it. 32. And there shall be six branches proceeding from its sides, three branches of the candlestick from one of its sides, and three branches of the candlestick from its other side. 33. There shall be three almond-shaped calyxes on each branch with bud and flower: so shall it be with the six branches that proceed from the candlestick. 34. But on the candlestick itself there shall be four almond-shaped calyxes with buds and flowers, 35. so that there shall be a bud under each pair of its branches, the six branches which proceed from the candlestick. 36. Their buds and their branches shall be of one piece with it, the whole of it one turned work of pure gold. 37. And thou shalt make seven lamps and they shall set up its lamps, that they¹ may cast light in front of it. 38. And its tongs and snuffdishes shall be of pure gold. 39. Of a talent of pure gold shall they make it and all these vessels. 40. And see that thou make them after their pattern, which thou hast been shown on the mountain.

FOR MAKING THE TABERNACLE.

XXVI. 1. Moreover thou shalt make the tabernacle of ten curtains, of twined byssus, blue and purple and scarlet; with cherubim the work of the artificer shalt thou make them. 2. The length of each curtain shall be twenty-eight cubits and the breadth of each curtain shall be four cubits: all the curtains shall be of one measure. 3. Each set of five curtains shall be joined to one another, 4. and thou shalt make loops of blue upon the edge of the one curtain that is outmost in the [first] set, and so shalt thou do in the edge of the endmost curtain in the second set. 5. Fifty loops shalt thou make in the one curtain and fifty loops shalt thou make in the edge of the curtain that belongs to the second set, in such manner that the loops shall be opposite to each other. 6. Then shalt thou make fifty

¹ 'That they.' So Sam. and LXX.

golden clasps and shalt join the curtains each to each by the hooks, so that the tabernacle may be one.

7. Further, thou shalt make curtains of goat's hair for a tent [roof] over the tabernacle : ¹ eleven curtains shalt thou make for the purpose. 8. The length of each curtain shall be thirty cubits, and the breadth of each curtain shall be four cubits : the eleven curtains shall be of one measure. 9. Thou shalt join five of these curtains by themselves and the other six by themselves, and thou shalt double over the sixth curtain in front of the tent. 10. And thou shalt make fifty loops on the edge of that one curtain which is outmost in the set and fifty loops on the edge of the [outmost] curtain in the second set. 11. Then shalt thou make fifty bronze clasps and shalt put the clasps into the loops and join the tent together, so that it may be one. 12. And as to the overhanging part in that which remains over and above in the tent curtains, half of the curtain which is over and above shall hang over the back of the tabernacle. 13. And the cubit on each side consisting in that which remains over and above in the length of the tent curtains, shall hang over the sides of the tabernacle on each side to cover it. 14. Further, thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, with a covering of porpoise ² skins above.

15. Moreover thou shalt make the boards of the tabernacle of acacia wood, upright. 16. Ten cubits shall be the length of a board and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. 17. Each board shall have two pegs joined to each other : so shalt

¹ 'The clothing of the house [that of the Ka'ba at Mecca] with cloth stuffs is ancient : one may suppose that, as in the case of the tabernacle, it betrays the origin of the building from a tent. But it is the general rule to show respect to sanctuaries by clothing them on the outside. Muchtar's ark of the covenant was clothed in this way, and so was Moaiwa's tent in war.'—Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*, p. 73.

² 'Porpoise.' Probably the dugong, a herbivorous mammal belonging to the order Sirenia, is intended. It is found in the Red Sea, and its skin is used for making sandals, shields, etc. Tukas is the Arabic word for dolphin, which is sufficiently like the dugong to be classed with it in popular speech.

thou do with all the boards of the tabernacle. 18. And thou shalt make the boards for the tabernacle: twenty boards for the south side southwards. 19. And thou shalt make forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards, two sockets under each board for its two pegs. 20. So for the second side of the tabernacle on the north, twenty boards 21. with their forty silver sockets, two sockets under each board. 22. But for the back part of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards. 23. And thou shalt make two boards for the corners of the tabernacle in the back part, 24. and they shall be double beneath and in like manner they shall be entire to the head of each [?] for [?] the first ring: so shall it be with both of them: they shall serve as the two corners. 25. Thus there shall be eight boards with their silver sockets, sixteen sockets, two under each board.

26. Further thou shalt make bars of acacia wood, five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle, 27. and five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle and five bars for the boards of that side of the tabernacle which forms the back westward. 28. And the middle bar in the midst of the boards shall pass through from end to end. 29. And thou shalt cover the boards with gold and make their rings of gold as places for the bars, and thou shalt cover the bars with gold. 30. So shalt thou set up the tabernacle according to its rule, which thou wast shown in the mount.

31. Further thou shalt make a veil of blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus: in the work of the artificer shall it be made with cherubim. 32. And thou shalt hang it on four pillars of acacia overlaid with gold and with golden hooks, resting on four silver sockets. 33. And thou shalt hang the veil under the clasps and shalt bring in thither within the veil the ark of the testimony that the veil may be your division between the holy and the holy of holies. 34. And thou shalt set the covering slab over the ark of the testimony in the holy of holies. 35. But thou shalt place the table without the veil and the candlestick opposite the table on the south side of the tabernacle, but thou shalt set

the table on the north side. 36. Further, thou shalt make a curtain for the opening of the tent of blue and purple and twined byssus, the work of the embroiderer. 37. And thou shalt make for the curtain five acacia pillars and shalt cover them with gold, and their hooks shall be of gold, and thou shalt cast for them five bronze sockets.

DIRECTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE ALTAR,¹ COURT, AND OIL FOR
THE CANDLESTICK.

XXVII. 1. Moreover, thou shalt make the altar of acacia wood, five cubits long and five cubits broad—the altar shall be square—and three cubits high. 2. And thou shalt make its horns on its four corners; its horns shall be of one piece with it: and thou shalt cover it with bronze. 3. And thou shalt make its pots to take away its ashes and its shovels, basons, forks and fire-pans, namely all its vessels, of bronze. 4. And thou shalt make for it a grating of bronze network, and thou shalt make on the network four bronze rings at the four corners of the altar. 5. And thou shalt put it under the ledge of the altar beneath, so that the net shall reach half way up the altar. 6. And thou shalt make staves for the altar, staves of acacia wood and shalt cover them with bronze. 7. And its staves shall be put into the rings and the staves shall be at the two sides of the altar, when they carry it. 8. Hollow with planks shalt thou make it: as it has been shown thee in the mount, so shall they make it.

¹ 'Altar.' Contrast the older form of the altar in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xx. 24 *seq.* The idea of the altar here is derived from that of the altar in Solomon's temple. It represents an attempt to transform the altar in the temple, so as to make it portable. But the attempt was neither put nor meant to be put in practice. An altar of wood covered with bronze would soon have gone on fire. The full account of the altar in Solomon's temple has been removed from our present text of the Book of Kings for an obvious reason. The scribes could see no cause for which Hiram-Abi should cast an altar of bronze, since the Israelites were already provided with the altar made long before for the tabernacle. But a reference to the construction of Solomon's altar has been preserved in 2 Chron. iv. 1, and the altar is just mentioned in 1 Kings viii. 64, and 2 Kings xvi. 10 *seq.*

9. Further thou shalt make the court of the tabernacle: on the south side southwards shall be hangings for the court of twined byssus a hundred cubits long on the one side. 10. And it shall have twenty pillars with twenty sockets of bronze: the nails of the pillars and their rings shall be of silver. 11. And so for the north side lengthwise there shall be hangings a hundred cubits long, and it shall have twenty pillars with twenty sockets of bronze, and the nails of the pillars and the rings shall be of silver. 12. And the breadth of the court on the west side shall consist of curtains fifty cubits broad and there shall be ten pillars with ten sockets. 13. And the breadth of the court on the east side eastwards shall be fifty cubits. 14. The hangings for the one side [of the gate] shall be fifteen cubits, with three pillars and their three sockets. 15. And for the second side the hangings shall be fifteen cubits with three pillars and their three sockets. 16. And for the gate of the court there shall be a curtain twenty cubits broad, of blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus in embroidery work, with four pillars and their four sockets. 17. All the pillars of the court around shall have silver rings and silver nails, but their sockets shall be of bronze. 18. The length of the court shall be a hundred cubits and the breadth fifty cubits¹ and the height five cubits of twined byssus with sockets of brass. 19. All the instruments of the tabernacle [needed] in all that has to be done with it and all its pins and all the pins of the court shall be of bronze.

20. Further, thou shalt command the children of Israel to bring pure oil of beaten olives for the light, to set up a light continually. 21. In the tent of meeting outside of the veil which is before the testimony Aaron and his sons shall order it from evening to morning before Yahwè, a thing to be kept as a perpetual statute by the children of Israel in their generations.

¹ 'Fifty cubits.' So Sam. text.

DIRECTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE SACRED VESTMENTS.¹

XXVIII. 1. But thou, bring thou near to thee Aaron thy brother and his sons with him from the midst of the children of Israel to perform the priest's office to me, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Ithamar and Eleazar Aaron's sons. 2. And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother for [his] honour and adornment. 3. And thou shalt speak with all that are of skilful mind, whom I have filled with the spirit of skill, that they make Aaron's garments to sanctify him for acting as my priest. 4. Now these are the garments which they shall make, a breastplate and an ephod and an upper robe and a tunic of chequer work, a turban and a girdle. So shall they make holy garments for Aaron thy brother and his sons, that they may act as priests to me. 5. And they shall take the blue and the purple and the scarlet and the byssus.

6. And they shall make the ephod of gold, of blue, of purple and of scarlet and of twined byssus, the work of the cunning artificer. 7. It shall have two shoulder-pieces joined to it: it shall be joined with them at its two ends.² 8. And the ornate band for tying it on which is upon it, shall be of like work and of one piece with it, made of gold, blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus. 9. And thou shalt take the two onyx stones and engrave on them the names of the children of Israel, 10. six of their names on the one stone and the names of the other six on the second stone according to the order of their birth. 11. With

¹ 'Sacred vestments.' The use of special garments for sacred functions is found among many nations, and is undoubtedly ancient. Its object was to avoid carrying uncleanness into the sanctuary (see Gen. xxxv. 2), and also to avoid carrying into common life 'marks of contact with holy places and things' (R. S. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 433). But the sacred vestments used before the exile among the Hebrews seem to have been very simple. We are told that Samuel and David, and the priestly family at Nob, wore linen ephods (1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18; 2 Sam. vi. 14). P is the first to give a detailed description of elaborate and splendid priestly vestments.

² 'It shall be joined with them at its two ends.' So Sam. and LXX.

the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones, according to the names of the children of Israel: with settings of braided gold [thread] shalt thou make them. 12. And thou shalt place the two stones on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod, stones of memorial for the children of Israel, so that Aaron shall bear their names before Yahwè on his two shoulders for a memorial. 13. And thou shalt make chequered work of gold [thread] 14. and two chains of pure gold: in the form of twisted cord shalt thou make them and shalt put the chains of cords on the chequered work.

15. Further, thou shalt make the breastplate for decision,¹ with the work of the artificer; like the work of the ephod shalt thou make it: of gold, blue and purple and scarlet and twisted byssus shalt thou make it. 16. Square shall it be, laid double, a span long and broad. 17. And thou shalt set in it settings of stones in four rows: a carnelian,² a topaz and an emerald placed in row shall be the first row. 18. And the second row shall be a ruby, a sapphire and a jasper. 19. And the third row shall be, a jacinth, an agate and an amethyst. 20. And the fourth row shall be a chrysolith, a beryl and an onyx: their settings shall be formed of twisted gold [thread]. 21. And the stones shall correspond [in number] to the names of the children of Israel, being twelve according to their names: each engraved like a signet with a single name, they shall represent the twelve tribes of Israel. 22. And thou shalt make on the breastplate twisted chains made like cords of pure gold. 23. And thou shalt make on the breastplate two gold rings and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. 24. And thou shalt put the two golden cords on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. 25. And the two [other] ends of the two cords thou shalt put on

¹ 'Breastplate for decision.' The translation 'breastplate' has been kept to avoid confusion. In reality it was a kind of pocket, worn on the breast, and containing the sacred lot through which the divine oracles or judgments were given.

² 'A carnelian,' etc. The meaning of the Hebrew words for the precious stones named here is in almost every case quite uncertain.

the two [settings of] braided work and thou shalt put them on the shoulder-pieces of the ephod in front of it. 26. And thou shalt make two gold rings and place them on the two ends of the breastplate, on its edge which lies inward against the ephod. 27. And thou shalt make two rings of gold and shalt set them on the two shoulder-pieces of the ephod, low down, in front, close by its joining, above the ornate band of the ephod. 28. And they shall bind the breastplate with its rings to the rings of the ephod with blue cord, that it may cover the ornate band of the ephod and that the breastplate may not be moved from the ephod. 29. And Aaron shall bear the names of the children of Israel on the breastplate for decision upon his heart when he goes into the holy place, for a memorial before Yahwè continually. 30. And thou shalt put into the breastplate for decision the Urim and the Thummim,¹ and they shall be on Aaron's heart when he

¹ 'Urim and Thummim.' Whatever these were, they are constantly mentioned in connection with the ephod. Note, however, that the word 'ephod' is used in two senses. (1.) It means an image, and, to judge from the probable sense of the root, an image overlaid with precious metal. This usage is perfectly plain on consideration of the following facts. Gideon, we are told, spent seventeen hundred shekels on an ephod, and 'set it up' in Ophrah (Judges viii. 27). In 1 Sam. xxi. 10, Goliath's sword is said to have lain behind the ephod. The ephod is mentioned along with the teraphim, which were admittedly idols (see Judges xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 17, 20, and particularly Hos. iii. 4, 'Many days shall the children of Israel dwell without king and without prince, without sacrifice and without sacred pillar, without ephod and teraphim'). Now, just as oracles were given through the teraphim (Zech. x. 2, Ezek. xxi. 26), so also through the ephod (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9, xxx. 7). In the case of the ephod the oracle was obtained by means of Urim and Thummim. But what were they? The older writers presuppose this knowledge, and do not therefore answer the question directly. But they seem to have been two sacred stones or lots, contained, perhaps, in the hollow image. One stone, if it fell out first, meant 'Yes,' the other 'No,' and if no distinct response could be got by casting the lots (*e.g.* if both leapt out simultaneously), this was taken as a sign of Yahwè's displeasure. Thus in 1 Sam. xiv. 41 (text emended from LXX.) we read, 'Wherefore hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this iniquity be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim, but if in thy people Israel, give Thummim.' Comp. xxviii. 6, 'Saul consulted Yahwè, but Yahwè answered him not, either by dreams, or through Urim, or through the prophets.' Similar modes of divination were known to the heathen Arabs, but the origin of the words Urim and Thummim is quite

goes before Yahwè, and Aaron shall bear the [oracle of] decision for the children of Israel on his heart continually.

31. And thou shalt make the upper coat for the ephod entirely of blue. 32. And it shall have an opening for the head in the midst of it: its opening shall have an edge of woven work around: its opening shall be like that in a mail shirt [?] that it be not rent. 33. And on its skirts thou shalt make pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet, on its skirts all round, and golden bells in the midst of them all round, 34. so as to have a golden bell and a pomegranate alternately on the skirts of the upper coat all round. 35. And Aaron shall wear it for ministering and the sound of it shall be heard when he goes into the holy place and when he goes out, lest he die.¹

36. Also thou shalt make a plate of pure gold and grave on it, as with the engravings of a signet, Holy to Yahwè. 37. And thou shalt fasten it to a blue cord, that it may be on the turban: on the forefront of the turban shall it be. 38. And it shall be

obscure. (2.) There is another ephod, which was a priestly vestment, which early writers distinguish as the 'linen ephod' (1 Sam. ii. 18, xxii. 18, 2 Sam. vi. 14). But it is only P who connects the ephod in this sense with the Urim and Thummim. Here we have a valuable indication of the time at which the Priestly Code was compiled. After the exile (Ezra ii. 63), the Urim and Thummim were no longer in use. Their very nature was forgotten, and hence P, who gives elaborate directions for altar, table of shew-bread, curtains and beams, etc., gives no information at all about the Urim and Thummim. There is therefore no great rashness in the suspicion that it is by mere confusion that he connects the Urim and Thummim, not with the ephod, which was an idol, but with that which was a vestment. To be sure, pious Jews in the school of P would willingly forget the real nature of the Urim and Thummim. Some faint idea of the Urim and Thummim as they really were is retained so far as this, that P regards them as material things put into the breastplate, or rather pocket, of the ephod.

¹ 'Lest he die.' It seems clear enough that the bells and pomegranates acted as charms against the demons who guarded holy places. See 1 Sam. v. 5, where we are told that the priests of Dagon leapt over the threshold of the shrine, evidently because it was a dangerous place. The bells would be intended to frighten the demons away. So Wellh. *Proleg.*, p. 443; Smend, *A. T. Rel. gesch.*, p. 126; Dalm. on *Isai.* vi.; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.*, ii. p. 118; Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäol.*, p. 428. No probable reason has been given for the use of the pomegranates.

on Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may bear the guilt with respect to their holy things, which the children of Israel set apart, namely with respect to all the holy gifts; and it shall be on his forehead continually to secure favour for them in Yahwè's presence.

39. And thou shalt weave the tunic in chequer work of byssus and shalt make a turban of byssus and thou shalt make a girdle of embroidered work. 40. And for Aaron's sons thou shalt make tunics and shalt make girdles for them and head-dresses shalt thou make for [their] honour and adornment. 41. *Then thou shalt clothe¹ Aaron thy brother and his sons with him and thou shalt anoint them and shalt fill their hands² and consecrate them that they may minister as priests to me.* 42. And make for them linen drawers to cover their private parts: they shall

¹ 'Then shalt thou clothe.' Ver. 41 at least is a later addition to the Priestly code. The direction to put the vestments upon the priests is out of place here, and unduly anticipates the commands in chap. xxix. Besides (and this is the decisive point) here all the priests are to be anointed, whereas in the older portion of the code the High Priest alone is anointed, whence his title *הַמִּשִּׁיחַ*, 'the Messiah,' or 'anointed one.' See xxix. 7, 29, 30, Lev. viii. 12, etc. Therefore, the extension of the holy unction to the ordinary priests is one of the marks by which additions to the Priestly Code may be known.

² 'Shalt fill their hands.' (1.) This phrase meant to fill one's hands with money or its equivalent, and so to hire a person for service. This must at least approximately be the meaning in Judges xvii.-xviii. Not only does Micah 'fill' his son's 'hand' for the priestly office, but we are also told, in xvii. 12, that 'he filled the hand of the Levite, so that he became priest to him,' parallel to which is the statement of the Levite himself in xviii. 4, 'He hired me and I became priest to him.' It is possible, however, to judge from the analogy of the Assyrian, that the hand was filled (metaphorically) with the office intrusted. See Nowack (*Hebr. Archäol.*, ii. p. 120 seq.) It is interesting to note that the interpretation of the phrase now generally accepted was clearly stated in 1835 by Vatke (*Rel. d. A. T.*, p. 273 seq.). (2.) In later times the original meaning became obscure, and the phrase was now used as meaning to fill the hand with the sacrifice and so to consecrate. Baudissin (*A. T. Priesterthum*) tries to show that in the passages in Judges referred to above it is the sacrifice with which the hand is filled. But he does not meet the convincing argument that 'hiring' and 'filling the hand' are in Judges xvii.-xviii. used as convertible terms. In Ezek. xliii. 26, 'fill the hands' of the altar is used to signify 'consecrate it,' in which case the original meaning is completely obliterated.

extend from the loins to the thighs. 43. And they shall be worn by Aaron and his sons when they go into the tent of meeting or when they approach the altar to minister in the holy place, lest they incur guilt and die : this is a perpetual statute for him and his seed after him.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE CONSECRATION OF THE PRIESTS.

XXIX. 1. Now this is the thing that thou shalt do to them to consecrate them for the performance of the priest's office to me : take one young bullock and two rams without blemish, 2. and unleavened bread and unleavened cakes mixed with oil and unleavened wafers smeared with oil : of fine wheaten flour shalt thou make them. 3. And thou shalt set them on one basket and bring them near in the basket with the bullock and the two rams. 4. And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring near to the door of the tent of meeting and shalt wash them with water. 5. Then thou shalt take the garments and clothe Aaron with the tunic and the outer coat of the ephod and the ephod and the breast-plate and thou shalt gird him with the ornate band of the ephod. 6. And thou shalt place the turban on his head and shalt put the holy diadem on the turban. 7. Then thou shalt take the anointing oil and pour it on his head and anoint him. 8. Next thou shalt bring his sons near and shalt clothe them in tunics. 9. And thou shalt gird them with girdles,¹ and bind head-dresses upon them, that the priesthood may appertain to them by perpetual statute : so shalt thou fill the hands of Aaron and his sons. 10. Then shalt thou bring near the bullock to the front of the tent of meeting, that Aaron and his sons may lay their hands on the head of the bullock. 11. And thou shalt slay the bullock before Yahwè at the door of the tent of meeting. 12. And thou shalt take of the bullock's blood and put it on the horns

¹ 'Gird them with girdles.' The Massoretic text adds 'Aaron and his sons.' The words, absent in the LXX., have been added because in ver. 5 P forgot to mention the girding of Aaron's tunic.

of the altar with thy finger, but all [the rest of] the blood thou shalt pour at the base of the altar. 13. And thou shalt take all the fat which covers the inner parts and the appendage on the liver and the two kidneys with the fat which is on them and burn them on the altar. 14. But the flesh of the bullock and its skin and its dung thou shalt burn with fire outside of the camp. It is a sin offering.¹ 15. Then shalt thou take the one

¹ 'A sin-offering.' This technical term is utterly unknown to the older codes, e.g. to Deut., and even to that code which stands midway between Deut. and P, and is now generally called the 'Law of Holiness.' In ancient times a propitiatory effect was attributed to all sacrifice (1 Sam. xxvi. 19, iii. 14), but there was no special kind of sacrifice known as a sin-offering, a fact which is proved to demonstration by the words in 2 Sam. xxiv. 25: 'David offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. So Yahwè was entreated for the land and the plague was stayed.' How could the narrator omit all mention of sin-offerings, if he had ever heard of them? Indeed, the word חטאת, afterwards used to mean sacrifice for sin, signifies in 2 Kings xii. 17 a fine paid to the priests in atonement for transgression. It is in Ezek. that the technical term for sin-offering, and the idea of a sacrifice for sin ritually distinct from other sacrifices, first appears (xl. 39 and *passim*), though it is clear that the institution did not originate with Ezekiel. The calamities which culminated in the exile deepened the sense of sin, or rather, perhaps, made the belief in Yahwè's anger with his people more and more overpowering. Hence the need felt for special rites of propitiation, and the prominence of those rites in the Priestly code. The mention of 'sin-offerings' in South Arabian inscriptions, 'before Christ' (Hommel, *Ancient Hebr. Illustrated by the Monuments*, p. 322), cannot prove that they were known in Israel before the exile. For fuller information on the nature of the ritual prescribed for the sin-offering, the reader may be referred to Nowack's or Benzinger's *Hebrew Archaeology*, and to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, p. 329 *seq.*, p. 381 *seq.* But the chief points may be mentioned here. The victim did not die vicariously, i.e. in the sinner's stead. On the contrary, the sin-offering was reserved, according to Num. xv. 22-31, for unintentional transgression; he who sinned 'with a high hand' must pay the penalty in his own person. True, this theory is not carried out consistently in P: it illustrates, nevertheless, the purpose of the rite. Again, a vegetable offering might be substituted for the offering of blood in case of poverty. Further, so far was the sin from being transferred by the laying on of hands to the victim that, on the contrary, the flesh was 'most holy.' It was so sacred that only priests, and they only in certain cases, were allowed to eat of it. Lastly, the important thing was not the slaughter but the offering of the blood on the altar. The blood, which held the life, was a gift by which Yahwè was appeased.

ram, and Aaron and his sons shall place their hands on the ram's head. 16. And thou shalt slay the ram and take its blood and dash it on the altar round about. 17. But the ram itself thou shalt cut into pieces and shalt wash its inwards and its legs and put them on its [other] pieces and its head. 18. And thou shalt burn the whole ram on the altar: it is a burnt offering to Yahwè: it is a sweet savour, an offering by fire to Yahwè. 19. Then thou shalt take the other ram and Aaron and his sons shall place their hands on the ram's head. 20. And thou shalt slay the ram and take of its blood and put it on the tip of Aaron's right ear and on the tip of his son's right ear and on the thumb of their right hand and on the great toe of their right foot and thou shalt dash the blood on the altar round about. 21. And thou shalt take of the blood that is on the altar and the oil of anointing and sprinkle it on Aaron and his garments and on his sons and the garments of his sons with him, that he and his garments and his sons and their garments, as well as he, may be consecrated. 22. And thou shalt take from the ram the fat, the fat tail¹ and the fat that covers the inward parts and the appendage of the liver and the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them and the right thigh, for it is a ram of consecration,² 23 and a loaf of bread and a cake baked with oil and a wafer from

¹ 'The fat tail.' The Massoretic text has, 'and the fat tail,' distinguishing the tail from the fat pieces. The conjunction is omitted in Sam. and in Massoretic text of Lev. iii. 9, vii. 3, where the LXX. have inserted the conjunction, and so carried out the later view consistently.

² 'Consecration.' The rite is first mentioned by P. It consisted in purification by water, clothing with the sacred vestments and in initiatory sacrifices, viz. a sin offering, burnt offering, and a sacrifice of consecration in the most special sense. Aaron and his sons were smeared with the blood of this last sacrifice, parts of the victim were placed in their hands. They were also sprinkled with blood and oil. There can be little doubt that originally this sprinkling was intended to connect the priest with the deity, the blood and oil being applied first to the god or spirit resident in the stone or altar, and then to the worshipper (in this case the priest). But no doubt the ideas of the Priestly Legislator were more vague on the one hand, more elevated on the other. To him ancient rites had a mysterious efficacy into the precise nature of which he did not inquire.

the basket of unleavened bread which is before Yahwè. 24. And thou shalt place the whole on Aaron's hands and on his sons' hands and wave them as a wave offering¹ before Yahwè. 25. And thou shalt take them from their hands and burn them on the altar over the burnt offering for a sweet savour before Yahwè: it is an offering by fire to Yahwè. 26. Then thou shalt take the breast of Aaron's ram of consecration and wave it as a wave offering before Yahwè and it shall be thy portion. 27. So shalt thou sanctify the breast of the wave offering and the thigh that is set apart² which is waved and which is set apart from the consecration ram of Aaron and his sons. 28. And it shall belong to Aaron and his sons a perpetual due from the children of Israel, for it is an offering set apart from the sacrifices of their peace offerings, their offering set apart for Yahwè.

29. But the holy garments of Aaron shall be for his sons after him, to anoint therein and to fill their hands in them. 30. Seven days shall the priest among his sons who succeeds him

¹ 'Wave offering.' The rite consisted in waving offerings to and fro, *i.e.* according to the oldest tradition, towards the altar, and then away from it. It took place with regard to those parts of the sacrifice which fell to the priest's share (Lev. vii. 30, 34, ix. 21, x. 14; Num. vi. 20), and was probably intended to signify that the priest offered those parts to Yahwè, and that Yahwè restored them to the priest. Here, however, the original meaning is quite lost, for the meal offering is not given to the priests, but is burnt on the altar. Comp. Lev. viii. 27; Num. v. 25; and especially Exod. xxxviii. 24, where the gold given for the construction of the tabernacle is described as 'the gold of wave offering.'

² 'Set apart.' The word is 'terumah,' usually translated 'heave offering,' because, according to the Talmudic tradition, the oblation in certain case was solemnly elevated. But the Old Testament contains no trace of such a rite, the corresponding verb 'hōrim,' commonly translated 'to heave,' is never followed by the words 'before Yahwè,' but by the words 'for me,' or by the preposition 'from,' denoting the whole from which a portion was taken up or taken off. The 'terumah' then was a portion taken up, and so removed and set apart for a special, and that a sacred purpose. Comp. Lev. ii. 9, iv. 8, etc., etc. It is even used of offerings for the sanctuary which were not sacrifices at all, *e.g.* in Exod. xxxvi. 6, and similarly in Ezek., of lands specially set apart for temple, prince, priests, Levites, etc.

wear them, he who shall go into the tent of meeting to minister in the holy place. 31. And thou shalt take the ram of consecration and boil its flesh in a holy place. 32. And Aaron and his sons shall eat the flesh of the ram and the bread which is in the basket at the door of the tent of the meeting. 33. And they shall eat those things wherewith atonement was made to fill their hands, to consecrate them, but no stranger shall eat [thereof], for it is holy. 34. But if any of the flesh of consecration and the bread be left over till the morning, thou shalt burn what is left with fire: it shall not be eaten, for it is holy. 35. And thou shalt do to Aaron and his sons thus, according to all that I have commanded thee: during seven days thou shalt fill their hands. 36. *And thou shalt offer the bullock of sin offering every day for propitiation and shalt purge the altar from sin¹ by making propitiation for it and thou shalt anoint it to consecrate it.* 37. *Seven days shalt thou make propitiation for the altar and sanctify it: so shall the altar be most holy: all that touches the altar shall be holy.*

38. *Now this is that which thou shalt offer on the altar, two lambs a year old each day as a perpetual sacrifice.²* 39. *The one*

¹ 'Purge the altar from sin.' In Lev. viii. immediately after Aaron is clothed with his vestments, the tabernacle and its furniture are anointed: then, after his sons have been clothed in their vestments, the altar is purged by the bullock of sin offering. Here, however, the rite of anointing the altar and making atonement for it is added as an afterthought. We may conclude that the addition was made by some one who had read Lev. viii., and that Exod. xxix. 1-35 contains the older form of the law. Originally, persons, not things, were consecrated with oil (the anointing in Gen. xxviii. 18 is an act of sacrifice, and is not intended to consecrate the stone which, on the contrary, is the dwelling-place of God already), and it is only in the later strata of P that it is mechanically extended to inanimate objects.

² 'And this is that thou shalt offer,' etc. The command to offer a burnt offering with a meal offering twice a day is, as Dillm. admits, loosely connected with the foregoing matter. It is a later addition made by interpolating Num. xxviii. 3-8. For, in spite of Dillmann's judgment to the contrary, Kuen. (*Onders.*, i. 1, § 15. 30), and other scholars (comp., e.g. Holzinger, *Einleit. Hexateuch*, p. 422), seem justified in regarding all references to the double offering twice a day as secondary. The old rule was that a burnt offering should be made in the morning, a meal offering in the evening

lamb thou shalt offer in the morning: and the second lamb thou shalt offer about eventide; 40. and a tenth [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with the fourth of a hin of oil from beaten olives and a drink offering of the fourth of a hin of wine shall go with the one lamb. 41. And thou shalt offer the second lamb about eventide and shall make for it a meal offering like that of the morning and a like drink offering as a sweet savour, an offering by fire to Yahwè. 42. A perpetual burnt offering shall it be throughout your generations at the door of the tent of meeting before Yahwè, where I will meet thee,¹ that I may speak to thee there. 43. And there I shall meet the children of Israel and [the tent] shall be hallowed through my glory. 44. So will I sanctify the tent of meeting and the altar and I will sanctify Aaron and his sons that they may act as priests to me. 45. And I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel and will be a God to them. 46. And they shall know that I am Yahwè their God who brought them forth from the lands of the Egyptians to dwell in the midst of them. I am Yahwè their God.

DIRECTIONS FOR MAKING THE ALTAR OF INCENSE.²

XXX. 1. *Moreover thou shalt make an altar to burn incense:*

(2 Kings xvi. 15); even Ezekiel (xlvi. 13-15) demands no more, and in Nehemiah x. 34, after the publication of P, the people bind themselves to maintain 'the daily meal offering and the daily burnt offering,' language inconsistent with the rule that burnt offering and meat offering were to be offered together morning and evening. Notice also that in Nehemiah the meal offering is named first, apparently because it came first according to the Hebrew way of reckoning time, viz. as a separate evening sacrifice.

¹ 'To thee.' So Sam., LXX., for the Massoretic reading 'you.'

² 'The altar of incense.' The position of this section speaks for itself. Had the erection of this altar belonged to the original plan of P, the directions here given would have stood in their proper place, viz. along with those for making the candlestick and table of shewbread. Evidently the writer of the preceding sections knew nothing of an altar of incense, for he always calls the brazen altar 'the altar,' implying that there was no other (xxvii. 1-8). The ceremony of purging the altar of incense on the day of atonement, mentioned here in ver. 10, is never referred in the elaborate

thou shalt make it of acacia wood. 2. Its length shall be a cubit and its breadth a cubit; four-square shall it be, and its height shall be two cubits: its horns shall be of one piece with it. 3. And thou shalt cover it with pure gold, its top and its sides round about and its horns and thou shalt make for it a gold moulding round about. 4. And thou shalt make for it two golden rings beneath its moulding; at the two corners on its two sides shalt thou make them and they shall be to hold the staves wherewith they shall bear it. 5. And thou shalt make the staves of acacia wood and shalt cover them with gold. 6. And thou shalt put it before the veil which is in front of the ark of the testimony before the covering slab which is over the testimony, where I will meet thee. 7. And Aaron shall burn on it incense of sweet spices: he shall burn it every morning when he dresses the lamps. 8. And when Aaron sets up the lamps towards eventide he shall burn it, as a perpetual oblation of incense before Yahwè throughout your generations. 9. You shall not offer on it incense of another kind or a burnt offering or a meal offering, or pour out a drink offering on it. 10. But Aaron shall make propitiation on its horns once in the year; with the blood of the sin offering for atonement once in the year shall he make propitiation in it throughout your generations: it is most holy for Yahwè.

ritual of that day as given in Lev. xvi.; and according to P in Lev. x., Num. xvi.-xvii., the priests offered incense, not on an altar, but on pans or censers. Further Ezekiel, besides the altar of burnt offering, recognises only the altar-like table of the shewbread (Ezek. xli. 21 *seq.*). True, a golden altar, distinct from the table of the shewbread, is mentioned (1 Kings vii. 48), but Stade (*Z.A.W.*, iii. p. 168) has proved that the passage is by a later hand. VII. 48 is not the place for an account of furniture in the temple proper, which has been concluded in vi. 23, the name of the artificer who made this altar of incense is wanting (according to vii. 45 it cannot have been Hiram Abi, comp. the LXX. text), and besides, it follows from vi. 20 that the inner temple contained only one altar of wood overlaid with gold. Either the author indicates by this altar the table of shewbread, or passes that table over altogether, and the latter alternative, considering how ancient and permanent the institution of shewbread was, cannot be entertained.

THE POLL-TAX.¹

11. *Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 12. When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, consisting in those of them that are numbered, they shall give every man a ransom for his life to Yahwè on the occasion of their being numbered, lest a plague fall on them when the numbering of them takes place. 13. Now this shall they give, all they that pass over to the body of them that are mustered, half a shekel of the sacred standard, reckoning twenty gerah to the shekel, as an offering set apart to Yahwè. 14. All that pass over to the body of the mustered, from twenty years of age and upwards, shall pay the offering set apart for Yahwè. 15. The rich shall not give more, or the poor less than half a shekel, when they make the offering set apart for Yahwè to make atonement for their lives. 16. And thou shalt take the atonement money from the children of Israel and shalt give it for the service of the tent of meeting, and it shall serve as a memorial for the children of Israel to make atonement for their lives.*

¹ 'The poll tax.' The position which it occupies gives a slight probability to the belief that 11-16 belongs, like the rest of the chapter, to a secondary stratum of P. But there is a much stronger argument. After the publication of the Priestly code we find the people in Nehem. x. 33 engaging to pay one-third, not, as here, one-half, of a shekel for the service of the sanctuary. Accordingly Kuen. (*Onderz.*, i. 1, § 15, n. 30), and Cornill (*Einleit.*, p. 67) infer that we have here the codification of an usage later than that mentioned in Nehemiah. Dillmann's contention that the passage merely chronicles a single event under Moses seems quite untenable: rather Moses sets the precedent for the support of the tabernacle (and then of the temple) worship. And it follows, as Dillm. himself admits, from 2 Chron. xxiv. 6, 9, that the passage in Exod. was understood as the imposition of a regular temple tax. It is possible, however, as Holzinger, *Einleit. Hexateuch*, p. 451 suggests, that the law in Exod. is original, and that it afterwards was modified to suit the poverty of the people. But this explanation is far from likely. We should find some reference to the change made in the law as laid down in Exod. xxx. 11-16, had the author of Nehem. x. 33 been acquainted with it.

THE LAVER FOR THE PRIESTS.¹

17. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 18. Thou shalt make laver of bronze with a bronze base for washing and shalt place it between the tent of meeting and the altar and shalt put water there, 19. that Aaron and his sons may wash therein their hands and their feet. 20. When they come into the tent of meeting, they shall wash with water, lest they die, or if they approach the altar to minister to burn an offering by fire to Yahwè. 21. So they shall wash their hands and their feet lest they die. This shall be a perpetual statute for them, for him and his sons throughout their generations.*

THE HOLY OIL AND INCENSE.²

22. *Further, Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 23. But do thou*

¹ 'The laver for the priests.' It is only its position which places this section under doubt. Probably in the original form of P the laver was omitted in the list of sanctuary furniture, because it was not thought important enough to necessitate special mention.

² 'The holy oil and incense.' Vv. 22-33 are a later addition to P. They recognise (1.) the anointing of inanimate objects, (2.) of Aaron's sons, *i.e.* of ordinary priests, and not merely of the High Priest, (3.) the two altars, *viz.* of burnt offering and of incense. All these are sure signs of later origin. The next section 34-38 is on the same model, and probably therefore by the same hand as the preceding one. Besides, ver. 36 implies the existence of an altar of incense.

The use of incense in ancient worship was analogous to its employment in common life. A distinguished guest was not only fed but fumigated with perfume, and just so the deities were fed and regaled with sweet scent. But it is not till about the time of the exile that incense is mentioned in connection with Hebrew worship. The earliest notice of it is in Jerem. vi. 20, where it is spoken of as a foreign importation. Older prophets (see, *e.g.* Amos iv. 4 *seq.*, v. 21 *seq.*; Isa. i. 11; Mich. vi. 6) enumerate different kinds of sacrifice, but make no allusion to incense. True, the word K^otoreth is often translated 'incense' when it occurs, *e.g.* in Isa. i. 13. But the verb 'Kitter' simply means to burn on the altar (Amos iv. 5; Hos. iv. 13, xi. 2), and therefore there is no reason to give 'K^otoreth' any other sense than that of 'altar smoke,' and the translation of Deut. xxxiii. 10 given in the former volume of this work needs to be corrected. We

take to thyself the best sort of perfumes, five hundred [shekels] of flowing myrrh and half as much sweet cinnamon, [namely] two hundred and fifty [shekels], and of sweet calamus two hundred and fifty, 24. and of cassia [?] five hundred shekels by holy weight and a hin of olive oil: 25. and thou shalt make it into a holy anointing oil, a perfume compounded after the art of the perfumer: it shall be a holy anointing oil. 26. And thou shalt anoint therewith the tent of meeting and the ark with the testimony, 27. and the table with all its vessels, and the candlestick with its vessels, and the altar of incense, 28. and the altar of burnt offering and all its vessels, and the laver and its stand; 29. and thou shalt sanctify them, that they may be most holy: all that touches them shall become holy. 30. And after that thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons that they may act as priests to me. 31. Also to the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Oil of holy anointing for me shall this be throughout your generations. 32. On man's flesh it shall not be poured, neither shall you make any of the same composition for yourselves: holy it is, holy shall it be considered by you. 33. Any man who shall make the like, or who shall put any of it on a stranger, shall be cut off from his fellow-countrymen.

34. Also Yahwè said to Moses, Take thee spices, storax [?] and

have an interesting analogon to K'toreth in the Homeric use of *thûea*, which, though often translated incense, really means 'sacrifices,' the use of incense being unknown to Homer, as has been shown by Nitzsch on *Od.*, v. 60. The heathen Arabs likewise made no use of incense as an accompaniment of sacrifice (Wellh. *Reste Arab. Heid.*, p. 114). In exilic and post-exilic writings, e.g. Deutero-Isaiah, Ezek., the Priestly code, etc., incense is often mentioned, and in P and Chron. the hiphil of the verb 'Kitter' is a technical term for burning incense. In 1 Sam. ii. 15 and Hos. ii. 15 the hiphil pointing is probably erroneous, and is due to the effect of familiarity with P on the Massoretic scribes. Moreover, even the hiphil form is employed, and that in post-exilic literature, according to the old usage to signify the burning of flesh on the altar. So, e.g. Lev. i. 13, 15, etc., and 1 Sam. ii. 15 *seq.*, as pointed by the Massorettes. We may add lastly that P here seems to represent the latest stage in the use of incense. He speaks of it as elaborately compounded, and insists that no such composition may be used or even made except for the prescribed service of the sanctuary. Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah, etc., simply speak of frankincense.

onycha and galbanum as spices and pure frankincense in the same proportion, 35. and thou shalt make thereof incense, perfumed after the perfumer's art, salted, pure, holy. 36. And thou shalt pound some of it fine, and shalt put some of it before the testimony in the tent of meeting, where I am to meet you: it shall be counted most holy by you. 37. And with regard to the incense which you are to prepare, you shall not make any of like proportions for yourselves: you shall count it holy for Yahwè. 38. The man that shall make the like of it for the pleasure of his smelling shall be cut off from the men of his people.

THE CALLING OF BEZALEL. THE SABBATH LAW ENFORCED.¹

XXXI. 1. *Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. See, I have called by name Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah, 3. and filled him with a divine spirit, with wisdom and understanding and knowledge in every kind of work, 4. to plan devices for working in gold and silver and bronze, 5. and in cutting of stones to be set, and in carving wood, so that he may labour in every kind of work. 6. And, behold, I have appointed with him Oholiab the son of Ahisamach of the tribe of Dan, and in the mind of every one of skilful turn I have put skill that they may make all that I have bidden thee; 7. the tent of meeting and the ark of the testimony and the covering slab which is over it, and all the furniture of the tent, 8. and the table with its vessels, and the candlestick of pure [gold] with all its vessels, and the altar of*

¹ 'The calling of Bezalel, the Sabbath law,' etc. The § 1-11 bears, at least from ver. 7 onwards, the marks of a secondary stratum in P. It assumes the existence of an altar of incense, and distinguishes the other altar as that of burnt offering. The passage which follows, 12-17, has no obvious connection with the context here. It seems to have been placed at the head of ch. xxxv., which describes the actual making of the tabernacle, etc., to signify that the making of the tabernacle did not suspend the Sabbath law, and then to have been removed from its place and appended here to the directions for the making of the tabernacle by an afterthought. We shall see presently that xxxv.-xl. is a later addition to P.

incense, 9. and the altar of burnt offering with all its vessels, and the laver with its stand, 10. and the finely wrought [?] vestments, and the holy vestments for Aaron the priest and his sons' vestments for priestly service, 11. and the anointing oil and the incense of spices for holy use. According to all that I have commanded thee shall they do.

12. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 13. But do thou speak to the children of Israel, saying, Surely you shall keep my Sabbaths, since this is a sign between me and you throughout your generations, that you may know that I am Yahwè who sanctifies you. 14. And you shall keep the Sabbath since it is holy for you: they that profane it shall surely be put to death, for as for every one who does work thereon, his soul shall be cut off from the midst of the men of his people. 15. During six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day is a solemn Sabbath holy to Yahwè; every one who does work on the Sabbath day shall surely be put to death. 16. And the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to celebrate the Sabbath throughout their generations as a perpetual covenant. 17. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever, for in six days Yahwè made the heavens and the earth, but on the seventh day rested and was refreshed.

MOSES' FACE RADIANT.¹

XXXIV. 29. Now it came to pass, that as Moses came down from mount Sinai with the two tables of the testimony in his hand, as he came down from the mountain, Moses did not know that the skin of his face sent forth beams because of his speaking with him. 30. But when Aaron and all the children of Israel saw that the skin of Moses' face sent forth beams, they were too

¹ 'Moses' face radiant.' The language of this section, 29-34, is admittedly that of P. Comp. e.g. 'tables of the testimony,' the word used for 'princes,' 'congregation.' But the addition must have been made after P in its original form had been combined with the other documents. For here the existence of the tabernacle is assumed, according to the tenor of the 'Oldest Book,' Exod. xxxiii. 7, whereas, according to P, it had still to be constructed.

frightened to approach him. 31. But Moses called them, and Aaron and all the princes in the congregation returned to him, and Moses spoke to them. 32. And afterwards all the children of Israel approached, and he imposed on them all the commands which Yahwè had spoken with him on mount Sinai. 33. And when Moses had done speaking with them, he put a covering on his face. 34. And when Moses went before Yahwè to speak with him, he drew aside the covering till he came out: then he came out and spoke to the children of Israel that which he had been commanded. 35. And the children of Israel, when they looked at Moses' face, used to see that the skin of Moses' face sent forth beams, and Moses used to put the covering on his face again till he went in to speak with him.

SABBATH LAW. CONSTRUCTION,¹ ERECTION, AND CONSECRATION
OF THE TABERNACLE AND ITS FURNITURE.

- XXXV. 1. *Then Moses gathered all the congregation of the*

¹ 'Construction,' etc., of the tabernacle, xxxv.-xl. It is generally admitted that these chapters do not belong to the main body of P, for though Dillm. is less summary in his rejection of this long section than Kuen. and Wellh., still he admits that later hands have given us the text in its present condition. (1.) This section implies the existence of xxx., xxxi., which, as has been shown, are secondary. Thus we find here, in their natural place, the altar of incense and the laver, which only appear in the appendix to xxv.-xxix. The laver is mentioned in connection with the construction of the court, the altar of incense in connection with the construction of the tabernacle. In the order to construct court and tabernacle (xxv.-xxix), the laver and altar of incense are left out, and are added by an afterthought (xxx.-xxxi.); in the account of the actual construction they have been introduced into the narrative itself, so that now all is in order. (2.) The Hebrew style of xxxv.-xl. is more modern than that of xxv.-xxix. For example, xxxvi. 8-19 is almost a verbal reproduction of xxvi. 1-11, 14; but whereas in xxv. 3 the curtains are to be joined, 'a woman to her sister,' the writer of xxxvi. *seq.* has substituted 'one to the other' (xxxvi. 10, 12 *seq.*, 22). He has also added explanatory glosses in xxxviii. 15, 17, 18, and in the last of these verses he has borrowed a phrase from xxv. 27, xxviii. 27, using it, however, in a new sense. (3.) P is fond of repetition, but in the whole Hexateuch there is no analogy for repetition on such a scale and with such mechanical pedantry as is to be seen in xxxv.-xl.

children of Israel and said to them, *These are the things which Yahwè has commanded to be done.* 2. *During six days shall work be done, but on the seventh day you shall keep a holy and solemn Sabbath for Yahwè: every one who does work thereon shall be put to death.* 3. *You shall not kindle a fire in any of your dwellings on the Sabbath day.*¹

4. *Further Moses said thus to all the congregation of the children of Israel: This is the matter which Yahwè has commanded, saying,* 5. *Take from what you have a contribution for Yahwè: each one that is generous of heart shall bring it as a contribution for Yahwè, gold and silver and copper,* 6. *and blue and purple and scarlet and byssus and goats' hair,* 7. *and rams' skins dyed red, porpoise skins*

(4.) The text of the LXX. here presents a divergence from the Massoretic text absolutely unique in the Pentateuch. A good idea of the divergence may be gained by consulting the table in Driver's *Introduction*, p. 37 *seq.* At first, viz. from xxxv. 4 to xxxvi. 7, the Greek and Hebrew texts agree on the whole. Thereupon the Greek text proceeds to the making of the sacred vestments, xxxvi. 8^b-40, which in the Hebrew text is not mentioned till xxxix. 1-31. After this the various divisions of the Hebrew text reappear in the Greek, but with remarkable changes in the order, sometimes in abbreviated form, and with one notable omission, viz., of the construction of the altar of incense (in the Hebrew xxxvii. 25-28). Further, the Greek translator of xxxv.-xl., or at least of xxxvi. 8 - xxxviii. 31, was not the same person who translated xxv. *seq.*, for he renders the Hebrew technical terms by new Greek equivalents.

The conclusion is surely inevitable. In xxxv.-xl. we have an addition made as late as the third century B.C. When the Greek translation arose the Hebrew text of xxxv.-xl. did not in all probability exist, and afterwards was formed gradually and tentatively, one of the forms finding its way into the Massoretic, another into the Greek text.

¹ 'You shall not kindle fire . . . on the Sabbath day.' P, in Exod. xxxi. 12, has already laid down the principle that the Sabbath is a sign of the covenant between Yahwè and his people, a view natural in the exile when sacrificial worship ceased, but the Sabbath could still be kept (comp. Ezech. xx. 12-20). Hence, whereas in Deut. the purpose of the Sabbath is humane, viz., to secure rest for master and slave, and even for beasts of burden, in P it is a day 'holy,' i.e. reserved or taboo 'for Yahwè' (Exod. xxxi. 15, xvi. 23). No humane intention will explain the strictness of the law here against kindling fire, still less the punishment of death by stoning for gathering sticks on the Sabbath (Num. xv. 32 *seq.*). The stringency of the law was increased by later Rabbis, as appears from the New Testament on the one side, and the treatise on the Sabbath in the Mishna on the other. But already in P man is made for the Sabbath, not the Sabbath for man.

and acacia wood, 8. and oil for the light and spices for the anointing oil and for the sweet incense, 9. shoham stones and stones for setting in the ephod and breastplate. 10. And all that are of skilful mind among you shall come and make all that Yahwè has commanded; 11. the tabernacle with its tent and its covering, its hooks and beams, its bars, its pillars and sockets, 12. the ark and its staves, the covering slab and the veil spread in front, 13. the table and its staves and all its vessels and the shewbread, 14. and the candlestick for light and its vessels and lamps and oil for the light, 15. and the altar of incense and its staves and the oil for anointing, and the perfumed incense and the curtain to hang before the door, the door of the tabernacle, 16. the altar of burnt offering and its grating of bronze with its staves and all its vessels, the laver and its stand, 17. the hangings of the court, its pillars and its sockets, and the curtain to hang before the court gate, 18. the nails for the tabernacle and the nails for the court and their cords, 19. the finely wrought [?] vestments for ministration in the holy place, the holy vestments for Aaron the priest and his sons' vestments for priestly duty. 20. Then all the congregation of the children of Israel went out from before Moses, 21. and every man whose heart inclined him came and every one whose spirit impelled him brought in that which was set aside for Yahwè, for the work of the tent of meeting and for all the service thereof and for the holy vestments. 22. Then women as well as men brought,¹ all that were generous of heart brought brooches and nose-rings [?] and finger-rings and necklaces, all sorts of gold ornaments, also every one that made an offering of gold to Yahwè. 23. And every one that possessed blue and purple and scarlet and byssus and goats' hair and rams' skins dyed red and porpoise skins, brought them. 24. Every one that set apart a portion of silver and bronze brought the portion for Yahwè, and every one that possessed acacia wood for all the work of the construction, brought it. 25. Also every woman skilful in device wove with her hands, and brought what they wove, blue and purple and scarlet

¹ 'Brought.' So Sam. LXX.

stuff and byssus. 26. *All the women, too, who felt inclined because of their skill, wove the goats' hair.* 27. *Moreover, the princes brought shoham stones and stones for setting for the ephod and breastplate,* 28. *besides the spice and the oil for the light and the anointing oil and the perfumed incense.* 29. *All the men and women whom their heart impelled to contribute to all the work which Yahwè through Moses commanded to be done—they the children of Israel brought a freewill offering to Yahwè.*

30. *But Moses said to the children of Israel. See, Yahwè has called by name Bezalel, the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah,* 31. *and has filled him with a divine spirit, with skill and understanding and knowledge and with every kind of workmanship,* 32. *to devise plans for working in gold and silver and bronze,* 33. *and in cutting stones for setting, and in carving wood, that he may labour in all kinds of skilled workmanship.* 34. *And he has given him ability to teach, to him and Oholiab the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan.* 35. *He has filled them with skilful mind to do all sorts of work, those of the engraver and carver, and the weaver of varied patterns and the embroiderer in blue and purple and scarlet and byssus and the simple weaver, of those that do all sorts of work and devise patterns.* XXXVI. 1. *And Bezalel and Oholiab shall work and every one that is of skilful mind, on whom Yahwè has bestowed skill and understanding, so that they know how to do all the work for the construction of the holy place, namely all that Yahwè has commanded.*

2. *So Moses summoned Bezalel and Oholiab and every man of skilful mind, in whose mind Yahwè put skill, every one whose heart impelled him to come to the work to do it.* 3. *And they took from Moses all the contribution which the children of Israel brought for work in construction of the holy place that it might be made, and they continued to bring him a freewill offering every morning.* 4. *And there came all the skilful men, who did all the work for the holy place, each from his work which they were doing,* 5. *and said thus to Moses, The people are bringing more than is needed for carrying out the work which Yahwè commanded to be done.* 6. *So*

Moses commanded and they had it proclaimed throughout the camp, saying, Let neither man or woman make any more work as a contribution for the holy place. So the people were stayed from bringing. 7. For the stuff they had was enough for doing all the work and more than enough.

8. And every skilful minded man among those that wrought at the work made the tabernacle from ten curtains; of twined byssus and blue and purple and scarlet, with cherubim the work of the weaver in varied patterns did he make them. 9. The length of each curtain was twenty-eight cubits and the breadth of each curtain four cubits: all the curtains had one measure. 10. And he joined each set of five curtains to each other. 11. And he made loops of blue on the edge of the first curtain that is outmost in the [first] set, and so he did in the edge of the endmost curtain in the second set. 12. Fifty loops did he make in the one curtain and fifty loops did he make in the edge of the curtain that belonged to the second set, in such manner that the loops were opposite to each other. 13. Then he made fifty golden clasps and joined the curtains each to each by the clasps, so that the tabernacle was one.

14. Further, he made curtains of goats' hair for a tent [roof] over the tabernacle: eleven curtains did he make for the purpose. 15. The length of each curtain was thirty cubits and the breadth of each curtain was four cubits: the eleven curtains were of one measure. 16. And he joined five of these curtains by themselves and the other six by themselves. 17. And he made fifty loops on the edge of that curtain which was outmost in the first set, and fifty loops on the edge of the [outmost] curtain in the second set. 18. Then he made fifty bronze clasps to join the tent together, so that it might be one. 19. Further, he made a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, with a covering of porpoise skins above.

20. Moreover, he made the boards of the tabernacle of acacia wood, upright. 21. Ten cubits was the length of a board and a cubit and a half the breadth of each board. 22. Each board had two pegs joined to each other: so he did with all the boards of the tabernacle. 23. And he made the boards for the tabernacle, twenty

boards for the south side southwards. 24. And he made forty sockets of silver under the twenty boards, two sockets under each board for its two pegs. 25. So for the second side of the tabernacle on the north he made twenty boards 26. with their forty silver sockets, two sockets under each board. 27. But for the back part of the tabernacle westward he made six boards. 28. And he made two boards for the corners of the tabernacle in the back part, 29. and they were double beneath and in like manner they were¹ entire to the head of each [?] for the first ring: so he did with both of them to form the two corners. 30. Thus there were eight boards with their silver sockets, sixteen sockets, two under each board.

31. Further, he made bars of acacia wood, five for the boards of the one side of the tabernacle, 32. and five bars for the boards of the other side of the tabernacle, and five bars for the boards of the tabernacle which form the back westward. 33. And he made the middle bar to pass through in the midst of the boards from end to end: 34. and he covered the boards with gold and made their rings of gold as places for the bars and he covered the bars with gold.

35. Further, he made the veil of blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus: in the work of the artificer did he make it with cherubim. 36. And he made for it four pillars of acacia and covered them with gold and their hooks were of gold and he cast for them four silver sockets. 37. Further, he made a curtain for the opening of the tent of blue and purple and scarlet and twisted byssus, the work of the embroiderer, 38. and its five pillars and their nails; and he covered their heads and rings with gold, but their five sockets were of bronze.

XXXVII. 1. Then Bezalel made the ark of acacia wood; two cubits and a half was its length and a cubit and a half its breadth and a cubit and a half its height. 2. And he covered it within and without with pure gold and made for it a gold moulding round

¹ 'Were.' So Sam. The Massoretic text can only be translated 'shall be,' and, if it is correct, the writer must have copied xxvi. 24 mechanically. See, however, for another, though somewhat forced, explanation of the tenses in 29 seq. Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*, § 133, n.

about. 3. And he cast four gold rings for it on its four feet, so that there were two rings on one of its sides and two rings on the other. 4. And he made staves of acacia wood and covered them with gold. 5. And he put the staves in the rings on the sides of the ark to carry the ark. 6. And he made the covering slab of pure gold; two cubits and a half was its length and a cubit and a half its breadth. 7. And he made two golden cherubim; of turned work did he make them, at the two ends of the covering slab. 8. One cherub was at the end on one side and one cherub was at the end on the other side; of one piece with the covering slab did he make the cherubim at its two ends. 9. And the cherubim spread their wings upwards, so as to overshadow the covering slab with their wings, while they faced each other: the faces of the cherubim were turned to the covering slab.

10. And he made the table of acacia wood: two cubits was its length and a cubit was its breadth and a cubit and a half its height. 11. And he covered it with pure gold and made for it a gold moulding round about. 12. And he made for it a border of a handbreadth round about and made a golden moulding for its border round about. 13. And he cast for it four golden rings and put the rings on the four corners that were on its four feet. 14. Close by the border were the four rings, to receive the staves for carrying the table. 15. And he made the staves of acacia wood and covered them with gold to bear the table. 16. And he made the vessels that were to be on the table, its dishes and its cups and its cans and its bowls wherewith the libation is made, of pure gold.

17. And he made the candlestick of pure gold: of turned work did he make the candlestick, its base and its shaft; its calyxes, with its buds and flowers, were of one piece with it. 18. And there were six branches proceeding from its sides, three branches of the candlestick from one of its sides and three branches of the candlestick from its other side. 19. There were three almond-shaped calyxes on each branch with bud and flower; so was it with the six branches that proceeded from the candlestick. 20. But on the

candlestick itself there were four almond-shaped calyxes with bud and flower, 21. so that there was a bud under each pair of its branches, the six branches which proceeded from the candlestick. 22. Their buds and their branches were of one piece with it, the whole of it one beaten work of pure gold. 23. And he made its seven lamps and its tongs and its snuffdishes of pure gold. 24. Of a talent of pure gold did he make it and all its vessels.

25. Moreover, he made the altar of incense out of acacia wood; its length was a cubit and its breadth a cubit; it was foursquare and two cubits high; its horns were of one piece with it. 26. And he covered it with pure gold, its top and its sides round about and its horns; and he made for it a gold moulding round about. 27. And he made for it two gold rings beneath its moulding at the two corners on its two sides to hold the staves wherewith they shall bear it. 28. And he made the staves of acacia wood and covered them with gold. 29. And he made the holy oil for anointing and the pure incense of sweet spices after the art of the perfumer.

XXXVIII. *1. Moreover, he made the altar of burnt offering of acacia wood, five cubits long and five cubits broad, foursquare, and three cubits high. 2. And he made its horns on its four corners: its corners were of one piece with it, and he covered it with bronze. 3. And he made all the vessels of the altar, the pots and the shovels and the basons and the forks and the fire-pans: all its vessels did he make of bronze. 4. And he made for the altar a grating of bronze network, under its ledge on the lower side, reaching half way up. 5. And he cast four rings at the four corners of the bronze grating to hold the staves. 6. And he made the staves of acacia wood and covered them with bronze. 7. And he put the staves in the rings at the sides of the altar for carrying it therewith. Hollow with planks did he make it.*

8. And he made the laver of bronze with a base of bronze,

from the mirrors of the serving women,¹ who served at the door of the tent of meeting.

9. Further, he made the court; on the south side southwards were hangings of twined byssus a hundred cubits [long]. 10. There were twenty pillars for them with twenty sockets of bronze, the nails of the pillars and their rings were of silver. 11. Also for the north side they were a hundred cubits [long]: there were twenty pillars for them with twenty sockets of bronze: the nails of the pillars and their rings were of silver. 12. On the west side there were hangings fifty cubits [long]; there were ten pillars for them with twenty sockets: the nails of the pillars and their rings were of silver. 13. Also on the east side in the direction of the sunrise they were fifty cubits [long]. 14. There were hangings fifteen cubits [long] for the [one] side [of the entrance]; there were three pillars for them with three sockets. 15. And so for the other side; on each hand at the gate of the court² there were hangings fifteen feet [long] with three pillars and sockets. 16. All the hangings of the court round about were of twined byssus. 17. And the sockets of the pillars were of bronze, but the nails of the pillars and their rings were of silver, and the overlaying of their capitals was silver, and all the pillars of the court were provided with silver rings. 18. And the curtain for the gate of the court was of embroidery work in blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus, and the length was twenty cubits and the height formed by the breadth [of the stuff?] was five ells, like the hangings of the court. 19. And the pillars for them were four with four bronze sockets, but their nails were of silver and their capitals and rings were covered with silver. 20. And all the

¹ 'The serving women.' This passage is unique, for we are not told, either here or elsewhere, in what particular service of the tabernacle the women were employed. True, we find an exact parallel to the passage before us in 1 Sam. ii. 22^b, but the words are wanting in the LXX., and have been borrowed from the text above. The Targum and Pesh. interpret 'serve' as meaning merely 'pray.'

² 'On each hand at the gate to the court.' A gloss which has been misplaced.

pins of the tabernacle and of the court round about were of bronze.

21. *This is the reckoning of [the things for] the tabernacle, the tabernacle of the testimony, which reckoning was made by command of Moses, by the help of the Levites under the superintendence of Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest. 22. And Bezalel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah made all that Yahwè commanded Moses. 23. And with him was Oholiab the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan, an engraver and a weaver of varied material and an embroiderer in blue and purple and scarlet and byssus.*

24. *As for all the gold that was used for the work, in every kind of work for the sanctuary, the gold offered came to twenty-nine talents, seven hundred and thirty shekels according to the standard of the sanctuary. 25. And the silver from those that were mustered in the congregation came to a hundred talents and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shekels according to the standard of the sanctuary: 26. a beka a head [that is], half a shekel according to the standard of the sanctuary for every one that passed over to the body of them that were mustered, from twenty years of age and upwards, six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty. 27. Now a hundred talents of the silver were used for moulding the sockets for the holy place and the sockets for the veil, a hundred sockets for the hundred talents, a socket for a talent. 28. And of the one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five [shekels] he made nails for the pillars and overlaid their capitals and furnished them with rings. 29. And the bronze that was offered was seventy talents and two thousand four hundred shekels. 30. And he made therewith the sockets for the entrance to the tent of meeting and the altar of bronze and the bronze grating which it had and all the vessels of the altar, 31. and the sockets for the court all round and the sockets for the court gate and all the pins of the tabernacle and the pins of the court all round.*

XXXIX. 1. *And of the blue and purple and scarlet stuff they*

made the finely wrought [?] vestments for ministration in the holy place and they made the holy vestments which were for Aaron, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 2. And he made the ephod of gold [thread], of blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus. 3. And they beat the gold into plates and cut them into threads, to work it in among the blue and the purple and the scarlet and the byssus with the work of the weaver in varied material. 4. They made shoulderpieces for it joined [thereto]: at its two ends it was joined [to them]. 5. And the girdle of various material which was on it was of one piece with it of like work, of gold [thread], of blue and purple and scarlet and twined byssus, as Yahwè commanded Moses. 6. And they set the shoham stones in chequered work of gold [thread], engraved with the names of the children of Israel in the style of signet engraving. 7. And he placed them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, as stones of memorial for the children of Israel, as Yahwè commanded Moses.

8. And he made the breastplate with the work of the weaver in varied material like the work of the ephod, from gold [thread], blue and purple and scarlet and twisted byssus. 9. It was square: they made it double, a span long and broad, double. 10. And they set therein four rows of stones; a carnelian, a topaz, and an emerald placed in row, were the first row. 11. And the second row was a ruby, a sapphire, and a jasper. 12. And the third row was a jacinth, an agate, and an amethyst. 13. And the fourth row was a chrysolith, a shoham, and an onyx, encased in chequered work of gold [thread] for settings. 14. And the stones corresponded [in number] to the names of the children of Israel; they were twelve in accordance with their names each engraved like a signet with a single name to represent the twelve tribes. 15. And they made on the breastplate twisted chains, made like cords, out of pure gold. 16. And they made two [settings of] braided work in gold and two gold rings and put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate. 17. And they put the two gold cords on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate. 18. And they put the two ends of the two cords in the two [settings of] braided work

and they put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod in front of it. 19. *And they made two gold rings and placed them on the two ends of the breastplate on its edge which lay inward against the ephod.* 20. *And they made two gold rings and put them on the two shoulderpieces of the ephod, low down, in front, close to its joining, above the ephod girdle of varied material.* 21. *And they bound the breastplate with its rings to the rings of the ephod with blue cord, that it might be over the ephod girdle of varied material and that the breastplate might not be moved from the ephod, as Yahwè commanded Moses.*

22. *And he made the upper coat for the ephod with the work of the weaver entirely of blue stuff.* 23. *And the opening of the upper coat was in the midst of it, like the opening in a mail shirt [†]: its opening had an edge all round that it might not be rent.* 24. *And they made on the skirts of the outer coat pomegranates of blue and purple and scarlet twined.* 25. *And they made bells of pure gold and put the bells in the midst of the pomegranates on the skirts of the outer coat all round in the midst of the pomegranates.* 26. *So that there was a bell and a pomegranate alternately on the skirts of the outer coat all round, for ministering, as Yahwè commanded Moses.*

27. *And they made the tunics of byssus in woven work for Aaron and his sons,* 28. *and the turban of byssus and the goodly head-dresses of byssus and the linen drawers of twined byssus,* 29. *and the girdle of twined byssus and blue and purple and scarlet, the work of the embroiderer, as Yahwè commanded Moses.*

30. *Also they made the plate, the holy diadem, of pure gold and inscribed thereon in the style of signet engraving, Holy to Yahwè.* 31. *And they put a blue cord to fasten it above on the turban, as Yahwè commanded Moses.*

32. *So all the work for the tabernacle of the tent of meeting was finished, and the children of Israel did according to all that Yahwè commanded Moses ; so did they.*

33. *And they brought to Moses the tabernacle, [i.e.] the tent of meeting with all its furniture, its hooks, its beams, its bars, its*

pillars and its sockets, 34. and the covering of rams' skins dyed red and the covering of porpoise skins and the veil spread in front, 35. the ark of the testimony and its staves, and the covering slab, 36. the table with all its vessels and the shewbread, 37. the candlestick of pure [gold] with its lamps to be set in order and all its vessels and oil for the light, 37. and the golden altar and the oil for anointing and the perfumed incense and the curtain over the entrance to the tent, 38. the bronze altar and the bronze grating which it had, its staves and all its vessels, the laver and its stand, 39. the hangings for the court, its pillars and sockets and the curtain for the court gate, its ropes and pegs, and all the furniture for the service of the tabernacle, [i.e.] the tent of meeting, 40. the finely wrought vestments for ministration in the holy place, the holy vestments for Aaron the priest and the vestments of his sons for priestly acts. 41. According to all which Yahwè commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did all the work. 42. Then Moses saw all the work and, behold, they had done it: as Yahwè had commanded, so had they done it: therefore did Moses bless them.

XL. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. On the first day of the month, thou shalt set up the tabernacle, the tent of meeting, 3. and shalt place there the ark of the testimony and shalt screen the ark with the veil, 4. and shalt bring in the table and shalt set in order its pile [of loaves] and shalt bring in the candlestick and set up its lamps. 5. And thou shalt put the golden altar for incense before the ark of the testimony and shalt hang the curtain for the entrance of the tabernacle. 6. And thou shalt put the altar of burnt offering before the entrance of the tabernacle, the tent of meeting. 7. And thou shalt put the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar and shalt put water therein. 8. And thou shalt place the court around and shalt hang up the curtain over the court-gate. 9. And thou shalt take the oil of anointing and shalt anoint the tabernacle and all that is in it, so as to consecrate it and all its furniture, that it may be holy. 10. And thou shalt anoint the altar of burnt

offering and all its vessels and shall consecrate the altar, that it may be most holy. 11. And thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, so as to consecrate it. 12. Then thou shalt bring Aaron and his sons to the entrance of the tent of meeting and shalt wash them with water. 13. And thou shalt clothe Aaron with the holy vestments, and shalt anoint him so as to consecrate him for the performance of the priest's office to me. 14. And thou shalt bring his sons near and shalt clothe them in tunics, 15. and shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister as priests to me; and this is to be for them their anointing to perpetual priesthood throughout their generations: 16. and Moses did according to all that Yahwè commanded him: so did he.

17. And it came to pass in the first month, in the second year, on the first of the month, that the tabernacle was set up. 18. So Moses set up the tabernacle and laid its sockets and placed its beams and put in its bars and set up its pillars, 19. and spread the tent [roof] over the tabernacle and placed the covering of the tent [roof] on the top of it, as Yahwè commanded Moses. 20. And he took the testimony and set it in the ark and placed the staves on the ark and put the covering plate over the ark above, 21. and brought the ark into the tabernacle and placed the protecting veil and screened the ark of the testimony, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 22. And he put the table in the tent of meeting on the north side of the tabernacle outside of the veil, 23. and arranged thereon the rows of loaves before Yahwè, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 24. Then he placed the candlestick in the tent of meeting before the veil opposite the table on the south side of the tabernacle, 25. and set up the lamps before Yahwè, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 26. Also he placed the golden altar in the tent of meeting before the veil, 27. and burned thereon perfumed incense, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 28. Further he hung the curtain of the entrance to the tabernacle, 29. and placed the altar of burnt offering at the entrance of the tabernacle, [i.e.] the tent of meeting, and offered thereon the burnt offering and

the meal offering, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 30. Also he placed the laver between the tent of meeting and the altar, and placed there water for washing, 31. and Moses and Aaron and his sons used to wash thereat their hands and feet; 32. when they went into the tent of meeting and when they approached the altar, they used to wash as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 33. Also he set up the court round the tabernacle and the altar, and the curtain of the court gate. So Moses finished the work.

34. Then the cloud covered the tent of meeting and the glory of Yahwè filled the tabernacle. 35. And Moses could not enter into the tent of meeting, because the cloud covered it and the glory of Yahwè filled the tabernacle. 36. Now when the cloud¹ rose from above the tabernacle, the children of Israel used to set out during their several stages. 37. But if the cloud did not rise, then they did not set out till the day that it rose, 38. for the cloud of Yahwè was over the tabernacle by day, but there was fire therein by night before the eyes of all the house of Israel during all the stages of their journey.

THE BURNT OFFERING.

Leviticus I. 1.² *Then Yahwè called Moses and spoke to him*

¹ 'The cloud.' In the Jahvist, Exod. xiv. 19 *seq.*, the pillar cloud guides the Israelites in their journey from the first: it stands before them as they cross the Red Sea, and is luminous by night. According to the Elohist, Exod. xxxiii. 9, the cloud descends to the entrance of the holy tent when God meets Moses there. The Deuteronomical writer, Deut. i. 33, follows the tradition of the older documents. So in a manner does P, but with significant alterations. His view is mechanical and ritual. When the erection of the tabernacle has been described, then, and not till then, he mentions the cloud. Yahwè manifests his presence in the cloud, because his tabernacle or dwelling is ready, and henceforth the movements of the camp are under divine guidance in the most literal sense. If the cloud moves, the Israelites move; if it stays, they stay. The Jahvist does not dream of excluding human agency in this way. On the contrary, in Num. x. 29 *seq.*, he represents Moses as inviting Hobab to help them by his knowledge of the wilderness, and be to them 'instead of eyes.'

² 'Leviticus i.'—vii. Wellhausen (*Hexat.*, p. 137) has shown that these chapters belong to a secondary stratum of P. The following is a summary of his reasoning. (1.) The chapters in question cannot have been known to

from the tent of meeting, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, If any man among you will bring an offering to Yahwè, it is from cattle, large or small, that you shall make your offering. 3. If his offering from the cattle be a burnt offering, he shall take for his offering a male without blemish: he shall bring it to the entrance of the tent of meeting, that he may be accepted before Yahwè. 4. And he shall lay his hand on the head of the burnt offering, and it shall be accepted in his behalf so as to make propitiation¹ for him. 5. And he shall slay the young beast

the author of Exod. xl. (itself secondary, though earlier than Lev. i.—vii.) For in Exod. xl. 1-15 Moses is told to set up the tabernacle, with its furniture, and to consecrate tabernacle and priests. In ver. 16 we are told that he obeys. Then in vv. 17-38 we have the account of his setting up the tabernacle, while the double consecration is not related till we reach Lev. viii. *seq.* (2.) The rules of sacrifice, though not in the same detail and with certain differences, are given in Exod. xxix., Lev. viii.—x. The author could scarcely have written as he does, if he had already compiled Lev. i.—vii. See, however, Kuen., *Onderz.* i. i. § 6. 17). Note also that in Lev. viii.—x. the rules are given indirectly and in the historical form. We are told what was done in the first instance by divine command and as a rule for all time. Wurster, *Z.A.W.*, 1884, p. 112 *seq.*, has argued with much plausibility that this is the genuine style of the original P. His purpose is to convey information on the origin of Israel's holy institutions. He writes for the people, and it is no part of his design to furnish a manual for priestly use. (3.) There are differences between the rules given in Lev. i.—vii. and those implied in earlier strata of P. Thus in Lev. iv. the blood of the sin offering for High Priest and for the whole people is to be brought into the holy place and sprinkled on the veil and on the horns of the altar of incense. But in Exod. xxix. 12, Lev. ix. 9, 15, the blood is simply applied to the altar in the outer court, so that the peculiar solemnity belonging to two cases of sin offering is unknown. Again, in Lev. iv. a bullock is required for the people's sin offering; in Lev. ix. a he-goat only is required. The compiler of Lev. i.—vii. has used older material, though he has also introduced or formally sanctioned additions to the ritual: he wished to codify the traditional practice, and he selected the place between the erection of the tabernacle and the offering of the initial sacrifices as suitable for the insertion which he made. Kuenen (*Onderz.* i. i. § 6), has shown that different hands can be traced in the compilation of Lev. i.—vii.

¹ 'Make propitiation.' This was, according to Lev. xvii. 11, the general purpose of all sacrifice. Traces of the same view occur in early literature (1 Sam. iii. 14, xxvi. 19). But there was also an inclination to avoid communion with Yahwè by sacrifice till his wrath was already appeased. Thus David, 2 Sam. xxiv., does not sacrifice till the plague is over.

before Yahwè, but the sons of Aaron the priests shall offer the blood and sprinkle the blood round about on the altar that is at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 6. Then he shall skin the burnt offering and separate it into its parts. 7. And the sons of Aaron the priests¹ shall put fire on the altar and shall range wood on the fire. 8. Also the sons of Aaron the priests shall range the parts, the head and the suet on the pieces of wood that are on the fire which is upon the altar. 9. But he shall wash in water its inward parts and its legs, and the priest shall burn the whole on the altar as a burnt offering, a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè.

10. But if his offering be a burnt offering from small cattle, from lambs or goats, that which he offers shall be a male without blemish. 11. And he shall slay it on the north side of the altar before Yahwè, and the sons of Aaron the priests shall sprinkle its blood on the altar round about. 12. And he shall divide it into its parts, and the priest shall range them with² the head and suet on the pieces of wood that are on the fire which is upon the altar. 13. And he shall wash in water the inward parts and the legs, and the priest shall offer the whole and burn it on the altar: it is a burnt offering, a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè.

14. But if his offering to Yahwè be a burnt offering from birds, then he shall make his offering from turtles or young pigeons. 15. And the priest shall bring it near to the altar and nip off its head and burn it on the altar, and its blood shall be squeezed out on the wall of the altar. 16. Then he shall take off its crop and its feathers³ and fling them on the east side of the altar into the

¹ 'Sons of Aaron the priests.' This reading is supported by LXX. and Sam., and is required by the analogy of vv. 5 and 8. It is adopted by Kautzsch and Driver.

² 'Shall range them with.' The Massoretic reading cannot be construed without some violence to language. The emendation followed in the text is made by Kautzsch and approved by Driver.

³ 'Its feathers.' So LXX., Sam. The Massoretic seems to be an unintelligible corruption.

place for ashes. 17. *And he shall rend it by its wings without dividing it and the priest shall burn it on the altar on the pieces of wood that are on the fire: it is a burnt offering, an offering by fire of sweet savour to Yahwè.*

THE MEAL OFFERING.

II. 1. *And if any person will make a meal offering to Yahwè, his offering shall consist of fine flour, and he shall pour oil over it and lay frankincense on it, 2. and shall bring it to the sons of Aaron the priests, and the priest shall take therefrom a large handful of the fine flour and oil besides all the frankincense, and he shall burn the fragrant offering [?] therefrom on the altar, as a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè. 3. But the rest of the meal offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons as a most holy portion from Yahwè's fire offerings. 4. And when thou wilt make the oblation of a meal offering baked in the oven, it shall consist of unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil and of unleavened pancakes smeared with oil. 5. And if thy oblation be a meal offering baked on the flat plate, it shall consist of fine flour, mingled with oil, unleavened. 6. Break it in pieces and pour oil over it: it is a meal offering. 7. And if thy oblation be a meal offering from the pan, thou shall prepare fine flour with oil. 8. And thou shalt bring the offering which shall be prepared from these things to Yahwè, and the priest shall offer it and bear it to the altar. 9. Then the priest shall lift off from it the fragrant offering [?] and burn it on the altar, as a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè. 10. But what is left of the meal offering shall belong to Aaron and his sons, as a most holy portion from Yahwè's fire-offerings. 11. No meal offering which you make to Yahwè shall be leavened,¹ for you shall burn no leaven or*

¹ 'No meal offering . . . shall be leavened.' The older usage admitted leavened bread in sacrifice. See 1 Sam. x. 3; Am. iv. 5. The sacrifice was a meal of which God and man partook, and the sacrifice reproduced the features of a common meal, in a more solemn and splendid form. Perhaps P may have been misled by the unleavened bread at the Passover, for which,

honey as a fire offering to Yahwè. 12. As an oblation of first fruits you may offer them to Yahwè, but they shall not come up on the altar as a sweet savour. 13. Also every oblation of thy meal offering thou shalt salt with salt: thou shalt never suffer the salt of the covenant of thy God to be lacking in thy meal offering: with all thine oblations thou shalt offer salt. 14. And if thou shalt make a meal offering of first fruits to Yahwè, thou shalt make the meal offering of thy first fruits consist of ears roasted in the fire [or] of bruised grain from the fresh corn. 15. And thou shalt put oil thereon and lay frankincense thereon: it is a meal offering. 16. And the priest shall burn the fragrant offering thereof, part of its bruised grain and oil with all its frankincense, as a fire offering to Yahwè.

PEACE OFFERINGS.

III. 1. And if his oblation be a sacrifice of peace offerings, if he make his oblation from large cattle, whether male or female, that which he offers before Yahwè, shall be without blemish. 2. And he shall lay his hand on the head of his oblation and slay it at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and the sons of Aaron the priests shall sprinkle the blood on the altar round about. 3. And he shall offer from the sacrifice of peace offerings as a fire offering to Yahwè, the fat which covers the inwards and all the fat that is on the inwards; 4. and the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them, which is by the loins, and the appendage on the liver: at the kidneys shall he take it away. 5. And the sons of Aaron shall burn it on the altar above the burnt offering which lies on the pieces of wood over the fire, as a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè.

however, there was a special reason. Otherwise, although, no doubt, the notion that the sacrifice was literally 'God's food' had been long extinct, at least among the more cultivated Hebrews at the time of the exile, still the ritual in *P* contains many elements originally due to that notion. Flesh, bread, and wine constitute the meal: salt is used to make the meal wholesome, and oil is added to the bread, because oil was employed by Easterns just as we use butter.

6. *And if his oblation for a sacrifice of peace offering be from the smaller cattle, he may take male or female to offer, [but it shall be] without blemish.* 7. *If he make a lamb his oblation to Yahwè, then he shall offer it before Yahwè,* 8. *and he shall lay his hand on the head of his oblation and shall slay it in front of the tent of meeting, and the sons of Aaron the priests¹ shall sprinkle its blood on the altar all round.* 9. *And he shall offer from the sacrifice of his peace offering as a fire offering to Yahwè, its fat, its fat tail entire, close to the backbone shall he take it off, and the fat which covers the inwards and all the fat that is on the inwards,* 10. *and the two kidneys and the fat that is upon them which is by the loins and the ap[^]endage on the liver : at the kidneys shall he take it off.* 11. *And the priest shall burn it on the altar as food offered by fire to Yahwè.*

12. *And if his oblation be a goat, he shall offer it before Yahwè,* 13. *and he shall lay his hand on its head and slay it in front of the tent of meeting and the sons of Aaron the priests² shall sprinkle its blood on the altar all round.* 14. *And he shall make his oblation therefrom as a fire offering to Yahwè, the fat which covers the inwards and all the fat that is on the inwards,* 15. *and the two kidneys and the fat which is on them which is by the loins and the appendage on the liver : at the kidneys shall he take it off.* 16. *And the priest shall burn them on the altar as food offered by fire to Yahwè³ as a sweet savour : all the fat is Yahwè's.* 17. *It is a perpetual statute for your generations in all your dwellings ; no fat and no blood shall you eat.*

SIN OFFERINGS.

IV. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 2. *Speak to the*

¹ 'Sons of Aaron the priests.' The word 'priests' absent in Massoretic text is found in the LXX. here, and in ver. 13.

² 'Sons of Aaron the priests.' See last note.

³ 'To Yahwè,' found in Sam. and LXX.

children of Israel, saying, *If a person sin unwittingly¹ in any of the things which Yahwè has commanded not to be done and shall do any one of them :*

3. *If the anointed priest sin so as to bring guilt on the people, then he shall offer for his sin which he has committed a young bullock without blemish to Yahwè for a sin offering, 4. and he shall bring in the bullock to the entrance of the tent of meeting before Yahwè and lay his hand on the bullock's head and slay the bullock before Yahwè. 5. And the anointed priest shall take of the bullock's blood and bring it in to the tent of meeting. 6. And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood and sprinkle some of the blood seven times before Yahwè in front of the sanctuary veil. 7. And the priest shall put some of the blood on the horns of the altar of sweet incense before Yahwè, which [altar] is in the tent of meeting, and he shall pour all [the rest of] the blood at the base of the altar of burnt offering, which is at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 8. And all the fat of the bullock of sin offering he shall remove therefrom, the fat which is a covering over the inwards, and all the fat which is upon the inwards, 9. and the two kidneys and the fat which is on them, which is by the loins, and the appendage on the liver ; at the kidneys shall he remove it, 10. as it is removed from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offering : and the priest shall burn them on the altar of burnt offering. 11. But the bullock's skin and all its flesh with its head and its legs and its inwards and its dung, 12. the whole of the bullock they shall carry forth to the outside of the camp to a clean place where the ashes are poured forth and shall burn it on wood with fire ; on the place where ashes are poured out shall it be burnt.*

13. *But if all the congregation shall err, so that something escape the notice of the assembly and they do one of the things Yahwè*

¹ 'Unwittingly.' The ideal here implied, that only unintentional sin needed atonement by sacrifice, while the exceptional case of high-handed transgression was to be punished by excision, could not be maintained. Hence the Day of Atonement was meant to remove the guilt of all sin. See also Num. xvii. 9 seq. ; Lev. v. 21, 22 ; Num. v. 5-10.

has commanded not to be done and incur guilt, 14. when the sin they have brought on themselves comes to their knowledge, the assembly shall offer a young bullock without blemish¹ for a sin-offering and shall bring it before the tent of meeting, 15. and the elders of the congregation shall lay their hands on the head of the bullock before Yahwè, and the bullock shall be slain before Yahwè. 16. Then the anointed priest shall bring some of the bullock's blood into the tent of meeting, 17. and the priest shall dip his finger in the blood and shall sprinkle some of the blood² seven times before Yahwè in front of the veil; 18. and some of the blood he shall put on the horns of the altar which is before Yahwè, which is in the tent of meeting: but all [the rest of] the blood he shall pour at the base of the altar of burnt offering which is at the entrance of the tent of meeting, 19. and all its fat he shall remove therefrom and burn on the altar. 20. And he shall do to the bullock as he did to the bullock of sin offering [for himself³]; so shall he do to it, and the priest shall make atonement for them that they may be forgiven. 21. And they shall carry forth the bullock outside the camp and burn it, as they burnt the first bullock: this is the sin offering for the assembly.

22. If a prince shall sin and do one of the things which Yahwè has commanded not to be done, unawares and incur guilt, 23. and

¹ 'Without blemish.' So LXX. and Sam. The word is omitted in the Massoretic text.

² 'In the blood and [shall sprinkle] some of the blood.' The emendation of Kautzsch has been adopted.

³ 'As he did to the bullock of sin offering [for himself].' A significant indication of the High Priest's position. His personal importance is as great as that of Israel collectively, and therefore his sin offering is not like that for a private individual, or even for a prince, but exactly corresponds to that which is offered for the whole congregation. In each case the blood is put on the horns of the altar of incense. So he is anointed like a king, and wears the royal diadem and purple. For the 'mitre' as appears from Ezek. xxi. 31 (xxi. 26 in English version) was originally an ornament of kings. In pre-exilic times the head priest in the temple is merely one of the chief officials under the king, but a high priest in the sense of P is unknown even to Ezekiel, and first appears in Haggai i. 1; Zech. iii. 1.

the sin¹ wherewith he has sinned be made known to him, then he shall bring as his oblation a he-goat without blemish. 24. And he shall lay his hand on the head of the he-goat and shall slay it in the place where they slay the burnt offering before Yahuè : it is a sin offering. 25. Then the priest shall take some of the blood of the sin offering with his finger and shall put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, but all the [rest of the] blood he shall pour out at the base of the altar of burnt offering. 26. And all its fat he shall burn on the altar like the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings, and the priest shall make atonement for him from his sin, that he may be forgiven.

27. And if one of the common people sin unawares by doing one of the things which Yahuè has commanded not to be done and incur guilt, 28. and the sin² which he has committed be made known to him, then he shall bring as his oblation a she-goat without blemish for his sin which he has committed, 29. and shall lay his hand on the head of the sin offering, and shall slay the sin offering in the place for the burnt offering. 30. And the priest shall take some of its blood with his finger and shall put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, but all [the rest of] its blood he shall pour at the base of the altar. 31. And he shall remove all its fat, as the fat was removed from the sacrifice of peace offerings, and the priest shall burn it on the altar for a sweet savour to Yahuè, and the priest shall make atonement for him that he may be forgiven. 32. But if he bring a lamb as his oblation for a sin offering, that which he brings shall be a female without blemish, 33. and he shall lay his hand on the head of the sin offering and shall slay it for a sin offering in the place where they slay the burnt offering. 34. And the priest shall take some of the blood of the sin offering with his finger and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, but all [the rest of] its blood he shall pour out at the base of the altar, 35. and all its fat he shall take off,

¹ 'And the sin,' etc. Driver's emendation here and in ver. 28 has been adopted. The Massoretic text would mean 'or if.'

² 'And the sin,' etc. See on ver. 23.

as the fat of the lamb is taken off from the sacrifice of peace offerings, and the priest shall burn the pieces on the altar over the fire offerings of Yahwè: and the priest shall make atonement for him from his sin, that he may be forgiven.

V. 1. *Now if any one sin¹ in that he hears the utterance of a curse [on a malefactor], he being a witness, whether he has seen or [otherwise] known [the crime], if he do not give information, and so becomes guilty, 2. or if any one touch any unclean thing, whether it be the carcase of a wild beast which is unclean, or the carcase of unclean cattle, or the carcase of an unclean creeping thing, and it is concealed from him though he [afterwards] knows it² and incurs guilt, 3. or if he touch uncleanness in man, any sort of uncleanness wherewith one can be defiled, and it is concealed from him, though afterwards he knows it and incurs guilt, 4. or if any one swear rashly with his lips to do good or evil, taking any kind of oath such as men rashly utter, and it is concealed from him, though afterwards he is aware and incurs guilt, 5. then it shall be, when he incurs guilt in any one of these ways, that he shall confess that wherein he has sinned. 6. And he shall bring his guilt offering to Yahwè for his sins which he has committed, a female from the flock, a she-lamb or she-goat for sin: and the priest shall make atonement for him from his sin. 7. And if his means suffice not for a sheep or goat, he shall bring as his offering for the guilt he has incurred, two turtles or two young pigeons for Yahwè, one for a sin offering and one for a burnt offering, 8. and he shall bring them to the priest who shall offer first 'hat which is for sin, and pinch off its head from its neck without separating it [completely], 9. and he shall sprinkle some of the blood of the sin offering*

¹ 'Now if any one sin,' etc., v. 1-13. This section is older than the law of sin offering in iv. It recognises no distinction in the sacrifice proportioned to the hierarchical dignity of the offender, and, as in ver. 6, it uses the word 'āshām' for the sin offering, it must have been drawn up at a time when the term was not restricted technically to one special kind of sacrifice called 'āshām' or 'guilt offering,' and separate from the 'chattāth' or sin offering.

² 'Though he afterwards knows it.' Kautzsch's emendation has been accepted.

on the wall of the altar, and the rest of the blood shall be squeezed out at the base of the altar: it is a sin offering. 10. But the other he shall offer as a burnt offering, according to the rite; and the priest shall make atonement for him from his sin which he has committed, that he may be forgiven. 11. And if his means suffice not for a pair of turtle doves or two young pigeons, he shall bring as his oblation for his sin the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour¹ to be a sin offering; he shall place no oil upon it, and put no frankincense upon it, because it is a sin offering, 12. and he shall bring it to the priest and the priest shall take therefrom a large handful as a fragrant offering [?] and shall burn it on the altar over the fire offerings of Yahwè: it is a sin offering. 13. And the priest shall make atonement for him because of his sin, which he has committed in any one of these ways, that it may be forgiven him: and it shall belong to the priest like the meal offering.

THE GUILT OFFERING.²

14. Further, Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 15. If any one

¹ 'Fine flour.' The fact that a sin offering might be made in flour is one of several proofs given in a former note that the victim did not endure death vicariously in the sinner's stead. In the sin offering, as in other sacrifices, the blood was an offering made to Yahwè, and had an appeasing or atoning influence. Comp. Ezek. xlv. 15; Exod. xxix. 33, xxx. 15 *seq.*; Lev. i. 4, xvii. 11.

² 'Guilt offering.' The corresponding Hebrew word 'āshām' meant originally a fine or compensation by money, etc. It is used in 1 Sam. vi. 3, 4, 8 of the golden mice, etc., which the Philistines sent back with the ark as compensation for the wrong done to it while in their land. In 2 Kings xii. 17 it signifies fines paid in atonement for sin at the sanctuary, which fine belonged to the priests. In this latter passage 'chattāth,' which in P means sin offering, is employed as a synonym of 'āshām,' and simply means a fine paid in atonement for sin. In Ezek. xl. 39, xlii. 13, and in P, but probably only in its later strata, the 'āshām' or guilt offering is a sacrifice offered in cases where the property of another, and especially that of Yahwè, had been wrongfully taken. The sacrifice which consisted in a ram was to be accompanied by restitution of the property taken with the addition of a fifth of its value. So here v. 14-16, 20 *seq.* In Num. v. 5 *seq.* provision is made for the case in which the original owner could not be found, and there the ram offered in sacrifice is called, not the guilt offering, but the 'ram of atonement.' Lastly, in Lev. v. 17-19 guilt and sin offerings are confused with

commits a fraud and appropriates unawares any of Yahwè's holy things, he shall bring as his compensation to Yahwè a ram without blemish from the flock according to thy estimation, but worth at least two shekels of the sacred standard as a guilt offering.

16. And that which he has appropriated of Yahwè's hallowed property he shall restore and shall add a fifth part thereto and give it to the priest, and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, that he may be forgiven.

17. But if one sin and do any one of all the things which Yahwè has commanded not to be done, but is not aware, and commits trespass and incurs iniquity, 18. then he shall bring a ram without blemish from the flock at thy estimate as a guilt offering to the priest; and the priest shall make atonement for him for the error into which he has fallen without his knowledge, that he may be forgiven. 19. It is a guilt offering: he has trespassed against Yahwè.

20. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 21. If any one sin and commit a fraud against Yahwè, inasmuch as he has denied the receipt of a deposit or trust, or through robbery, or because he has taken advantage of his neighbour, 22. or because he has found lost goods and has denied that he has them, and has taken a false oath about any one of the things which men do sinfully, 23. when he sins and incurs guilt, he shall bring the thing which he takes by robbery or that which he has seized by extortion or the deposit which has been deposited with him or the lost goods, which he found,

each other, and it is apparently from the same confusion that a guilt offering was prescribed (Num. vi. 12) for the Nazarite who had been defiled by contact with a corpse and for a leper at his purification, Lev. xiv. 12. A guilt offering was also required (Ezr. x. 19 *seq.*) from priests who had married Gentile women. Thus in the different strata of P the 'āshām' is first ignored, secondly, distinguished as a special form of the sin offering in which the idea of compensation rather than of atonement is accentuated, thirdly, confused with other kinds of sin offering, the name being kept, but the distinguishing idea being lost. It must not, however, be thought that the history of the 'āshām' in P is identical with or even parallel to its general history. It seems to be absent from the oldest form of P, but had been recognised at an earlier time by Ezekiel.

24. *or that whatever it may be concerning which he has taken a false oath, and shall restore the whole and shall add a fifth thereto: to the owner thereof shall he give it on the day that he makes restitution.* 25. *But as his compensation for Yahwè, he shall bring to the priest a ram without blemish from the flock at thy estimation as a guilt offering; 26. and the priest shall make atonement for him before Yahwè, that he may be forgiven for anything, whatever it be, by doing which men incur guilt.*

ADDITIONAL LAWS ON BURNT OFFERING, MEAL OFFERING,
AND SIN OFFERING.

VI. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Command Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the burnt offering. This, the burnt offering, shall remain on the hearth over the altar all night till the morning, and the fire of the altar shall be kept burning therewith. 3. And the priest shall put on his linen garment and shall cover his flesh with linen drawers and take up the ashes into which the fire consumes the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. 4. Then he shall strip off his vestments and put on other garments, and shall take the ashes forth outside of the camp into a clean place. 5. And the fire on the altar shall be kept burning therewith: it shall not go out, but the priest shall kindle wood upon it every morning and shall arrange the burnt offering upon it, and shall burn thereon the fat pieces of the peace offerings. 6. Fire shall be kept burning continually on the altar: it shall not go out.*

7. *Now this is the law of the meal offering. The sons of Aaron are to offer it before Yahwè in front of the altar. 8. And he shall take up his handful the: from, from the fine flour of the meal offering and from its oil besides all the frankincense which is on the meal offering, and shall burn it on the altar as a fire offering¹ of sweet savour, a fragrant offering [?] to Yahwè. 9. And Aaron*

¹ 'Fire offering.' This word, wanting in Massoretic text, is found in Sam. and LXX., and is justified by the analogy of Lev. i. 9.

and his sons shall eat what is left: unleavened shall it be eaten in a holy place: they shall eat it in the court of the tent of meeting.

10. It shall not be baked with leaven: I have given it as their portion from my fire offerings: it is most holy, like the sin offering and the guilt offering. 11. Every male among the children of Aaron shall eat it by a perpetual statute throughout your generations: every one who touches them, shall be forfeited to the sanctuary.

12. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 13. This is the oblation of Aaron and his sons which they shall make (on the day that he is anointed¹): the tenth part of an ephah in fine flour, as a perpetual meal offering, one half thereof in the morning, the other half in the evening. 14. It shall be made on a flat plate with oil: thou shalt bring it soaked . . .² thou shalt offer it as a meal offering in pieces as an odour of sweet savour to Yahwè. 15. And the anointed priest who succeeds him from among his sons shall present it by a perpetual statute: it shall be burnt whole to Yahwè. 16. And every meal offering of a priest shall be entire: it shall not be eaten.

17. Further, Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 18. Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying, This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is slain, the sin offering shall be slain before Yahwè: it is most holy. 19. The priest who offers it for sin shall eat it: it shall be eaten in a holy place in the court of the tent of meeting. 20. Every one who touches the flesh thereof shall be forfeited to the sanctuary, and if any of its blood is sprinkled on a garment, thou shalt wash that whereon it is sprinkled in a holy place. 21. An earthen vessel in which it is cooked shall be broken, and if it has been boiled in a bronze vessel,

¹ 'On the day that he is anointed.' An erroneous gloss. For the oblation is to be made daily.

² . . . The meaning and even the derivation of the Hebrew word omitted are quite unknown. Most likely indeed it is not a Hebrew word at all, but a mere corruption of the text. No probable emendation has been proposed.

it shall be scoured and rinsed in water. 22. Any male among the priests may eat it: it is most holy. 23. But any sin offering the blood of which is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire.

ADDITIONAL LAWS ON THE GUILT OFFERING AND PEACE
OFFERING. USE OF FAT PROHIBITED.

VII. 1. *This is the law of the guilt offering. It is most holy. 2. They shall slay the guilt offering in the place where they slay the burnt offering and they shall sprinkle its blood on the altar round about. 3. And they shall offer therefrom all its fat, the fat tail and the fat which covers the inward parts, 4. and the two kidneys and the fat which is upon them which is on the loins and the appendage to the liver; he shall take it off at the kidneys. 5. And the priest shall burn them on the altar as a fire offering to Yahwè: it is a guilt offering. 6. Every male among the priests shall eat it: it must be eaten in a holy place: it is most holy. 7. As the sin offering, so is the guilt offering: there is one law for both: it shall belong to the priest who makes propitiation therewith. 8. And the priest that offers any one's burnt offering, that same priest shall have the skin of the burnt offering which he has offered. 9. And every meal offering that is baked in the oven and each one that is prepared in the pan and on the flat plate, shall belong to that same priest who offers it. 10. But every meal offering, mingled with oil or dry, shall belong to all the sons of Aaron, to one as well as to the other.*

11. *Now this is the law for a sacrifice of peace offering¹ which*

¹ 'Law for a sacrifice of peace offering.' This law represents the most advanced and detailed legislation on the subject in the Priestly code. In the 'Law of Holiness' (Lev. xix. 5-8) there is no subdivision of peace offerings, and the rule is given without exception that the flesh may be eaten on the day of sacrifice, or on the following day, but not later. In Lev. xxii. 21; Num. xv. 1 *seq.*, two kinds of peace offerings are distinguished, viz. sacrifices for a vow, and the freewill offering. Here the sacrifice of thanksgiving, sacrifice

they make to Yahwè. 12. If they offer it for thanksgiving, then they shall offer with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mingled with oil and unleavened wafers smeared with oil and fine flour soaked [and made into] cakes mingled with oil; 13. with the addition of leavened cakes he shall make his oblation over and above the victim of his peace offerings for thanksgiving. 14. Therefrom he shall offer one of each kind of sacrificial gift as a selected portion for Yahwè: it shall belong to that same priest who sprinkles the blood of the peace offerings. 15. But the flesh of the victim of his peace offerings for thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day of his oblation: he shall leave nothing thereof till next morning. 16. But if the sacrifice of his oblation be a vow or a free will offering, it shall be eaten on the day that he offers his oblation: also on the morrow what is left of it may be eaten. 17. But that which is left of the sacrifice on the third day shall be burnt with fire. 18. But if any of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings be eaten on the third day, it shall not be accepted: it shall not be reckoned to the advantage of him who offers it, it shall be counted as corruption, and the person who eats thereof shall have iniquity to bear. 19. But the flesh which touches any unclean thing shall not be eaten: it shall be burnt with fire: but as for the flesh [of the sacrifice] every one that is clean may eat thereof. 20. But the person that eats the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings which is offered to Yahwè, while his uncleanness is upon him, that person shall be cut off from the men of his people. 21. And a person who touches an unclean thing, whether it be uncleanness in man or an unclean beast or an unclean abomination and shall then eat of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings which is made to Yahwè, that person shall be cut off from the men of his people. 22. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 23. Speak to the

for a vow and the freewill offering are distinguished, and an important difference is made with respect to participation in the sacrificial feast. The old latitude is retained in the case of the sacrifice for a vow, and the freewill offering, but the flesh of the sacrifice of thanksgiving is to be eaten on the day of sacrifice, and not on the morrow.

children of Israel, saying, *No fat¹ of ox or sheep or goat shall you eat.* 24. *But the fat of beasts that have died of themselves or have been torn may be used for any work, but you shall not eat it;* 25. *for every one that eats fat of beasts whereof they make an oblation by fire to Yahwè, the person that eats shall be cut off from the men of his people.* 26. *Nor shall you eat any blood in any of your dwellings, whether of bird or beasts:* 27. *any person that shall eat any blood, that person shall be cut off from the men of his people.*

28. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 29. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, He who offers his sacrifice of peace offering to Yahwè, shall bring to Yahwè his oblation out of his sacrifice of peace offering.* 30. *His hands shall bring the fire offerings of Yahwè: that which he brings shall be the fat besides the breast, the breast to wave as a wave offering before Yahwè.* 31. *And the priest shall burn the fat on the altar, but the breast shall belong² to Aaron and his sons.* 32. *Also the right thigh you shall give as a portion to the priest from your sacrifices of peace offering.* 33. *That same one among the sons of Aaron who*

¹ 'No fat.' Fat (probably the fat of the intestines is meant) of beasts permissible as sacrifice was not to be eaten. It belonged like the blood to Yahwè. The fat as well as the blood seems to have been regarded as the seat of life. Hence it is often used among savages as a charm, and smearing with fat, like smearing with blood, serves to establish a communion of special closeness between deity and worshipper. This may account for the unction of priests, kings, etc., for among nomads oil was animal, and merely liquefied fat. See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 363 seq.

² 'The breast shall belong,' etc. The priest's portion is to consist of the breast and right thigh. This, as Dr. Driver shows, 'is in direct contradiction to Deut. xviii. 3,' where the priest's portion is to be the shoulder, the cheeks and the maw. See Driver on Deut. xviii. 3, where the various attempts to harmonise the two codes are discussed and refuted. It is also noteworthy that in the older, *i.e.* the Deuteronomical code, the general word sacrifice is used where a particular kind of sacrifice, *viz.* peace-offerings, was intended. The reason is that before the exile peace-offering was the usual kind of sacrifice. Afterwards, these were cast into the shade by burnt-offerings and sin-offerings of which the offerer did not eat. We may infer from 1 Sam. ii. 13-16 that during a period in the history of Hebrew sacrifice anterior to Deuteronomy the worshipper simply invited the priest to the sacrificial meal, and gave portions of the flesh at his own discretion.

offers the blood of the peace offerings and the fat shall have the right thigh assigned to him ; 34. for I have taken the breast that is waved and the thigh that is set apart from the children of Israel from their sacrifices of peace offering and have given them to Aaron the priest and his sons as a perpetual due from the children of Israel. 35. This is the share of Aaron and the share of his sons in the fire offerings of Yahwè on the day that he offers them exercising the priestly office to Yahwè, 36. that which Yahwè commanded to be given them, on the day that he anointed them, by the children of Israel as a perpetual due throughout their generations.

37. This is the law of the burnt offering, of the meal offering, of the sin offering and of the guilt offering and of the sacrifice of consecration and of the sacrifice of peace offerings, 38. which Yahwè commanded Moses on Mount Sinai on the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations to Yahwè in the wilderness of Sinai.

THE CONSECRATION OF AARON AND HIS SONS. AARON'S FIRST
SACRIFICES.

VIII. 1.¹ *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Take Aaron*

¹ 'Lev. viii. 1-36. Wellh. gives the following reasons for regarding this chapter also as secondary, though it must be remembered that the word 'secondary' is used in a general sense to embrace tertiary, quaternary, etc., strata. The chapter before us is at any rate by a later hand than Exod. xxix. (1.) Here things, as distinct from persons, viz. the tabernacle and its furniture, are anointed (ver. 10 *seq.*). Exod. xxix. has not reached this extreme mechanicalisation of the ritual. (2.) Exod. xxix. knows nothing of the purification of the altar, mentioned here in ver. 15. (3.) Special mention is made of the 'peder' or suet in the ram of burnt offering here in ver. 20. It is passed over in Exod. xxix. 17, and though this is in itself a trifling matter, it gains significance when we observe that the 'peder' is mentioned in Lev. i. 8, which is secondary, but not in Lev. ix. 13, which is admittedly primary. (4.) Here in ver. 26 it is an unleavened cake which is offered, not as in Exod. xxix. 23, a 'loaf of bread.' The two authors mean the same thing, but here the later author chooses a more exact expression, probably because he desired rigidly to exclude the older custom of offering

and his sons with him and the vestments and the oil of anointing and the bullock for the sin offering and the two rams and the basket of unleavened bread, 3. and gather all the congregation to the entrance of the tent of meeting. 4. So Moses did as Yahwè bade him, and the congregation was gathered to the entrance of the tent of meeting. 5. And Moses said to the congregation, This is the thing which Yahwè has commanded to be done. 6. Then Moses brought Aaron and his sons near and washed them with water, 7. and put on him the tunic and girded him with the girdle and clothed him with the outer coat and put on him the ephod and girded him with the ornate band of the ephod and bound it for him therewith. 8. And he set on him the breastplate and put into the breastplate the Urim and Thummim, 9. and he placed the turban on his head and placed on the turban in front the golden diadem, the holy crown, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 10. Then Moses took the oil of anointing and anointed the tabernacle and all that was in it and consecrated them, 11. and sprinkled some of it on the altar seven times and anointed the altar and all its vessels and the laver and its stand to hallow them. 12. Also he poured some of the oil of anointing on Aaron's head and anointed him, so as to consecrate him. 13. Next Moses brought near Aaron's sons and clad them with coats and girded each of them with the girdle and fastened their headdresses, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 14. Then he brought the bullock for the sin offering, and Aaron and his sons laid their hands on the head of the bullock for the sin offering, 15. and Moses slew it and took the blood and put it on the horns of the altar all round with his finger and purged the altar from sin, but the [rest of the] blood he poured at the base of the altar and hallowed it and made atonement for it. 16. And he took all the fat which was on the

ordinary or leavened bread in thank-offerings (Amos iv. 5, and the 'Law of Holiness,' Lev. xxiii. 17). At the same time this chapter makes no reference to the altar of incense, and consequently does not need to call the altar the altar of burnt offering, and is older in character than, e.g. Exod. xxxv.-xl.

inwards and the appendage to the liver and the two kidneys and their fat and Moses burnt them on the altar. 17. But he burnt with fire the bullock and its skin and its flesh and its dung outside the camp, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 18. Then he brought near the ram of the burnt offering, and Aaron and his sons put their hands on the head of the ram, 19. and Moses slew it and sprinkled the blood on the altar round about, 20. and he divided the ram in pieces and Moses burnt the head and the pieces and the suet, 21. and washed with water the inwards and the legs, and Moses burnt the whole of the ram on the altar: it was a burnt offering for an odour of sweet savour; it was a fire offering to Yahwè, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 22. Then he brought the other ram, the ram of consecration, and Aaron and his sons laid their hands on the ram's head. 23. And Moses slew it and took some of its blood and put it on the tip of Aaron's right ear and on the thumb of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot; and Moses poured the blood on the altar round about. 24. Then Moses brought the sons of Aaron near and put some of the blood on the tip of their right ear and on the thumb of their right hand and on the great toe of their right foot and Moses poured the blood on the altar round about. 25. And he took the fat, the fat tail¹ and all the fat which is on the inwards and the appendage of the liver and the two kidneys and their fat and the right thigh. 26. And from the basket of unleavened bread which was before Yahwè he took one unleavened cake and one cake of bread baked with oil and one wafer and placed them on the fat pieces and on the right thigh, 27. and put the whole on the hands of Aaron and on the hands of his sons and waved them as a wave offering before Yahwè. 28. Then Moses took them from off their hands and burnt them on the altar over the burnt offering: they were a consecration sacrifice of sweet savour, it was a fire offering to Yahwè. 29. Also Moses took the breast of the ram of consecration and waved it as a wave offering before Yahwè: Moses had it

¹ 'The fat tail,' corrected as in Exod. xxix. 22 from Sam.

for his portion, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 30. Next Moses took some of the oil of anointing and some of the blood which was on the altar and sprinkled it over Aaron on his vestments and over his sons and on the vestments of his sons with him and consecrated Aaron with his vestments and his sons and the vestments of his sons with him. 31. Further Moses said to Aaron and his sons, Cook the flesh before the entrance of the tent of meeting and there shall you eat it and the bread which is in the basket for the sacrifice of consecration, as I have been commanded,¹ saying, Aaron and his sons shall eat it. 32. But what is left of the flesh and of the bread you shall burn with fire. 33. And you shall not go out from the entrance of the tent of meeting for seven days till the day when the days of your initiation are fulfilled, since for seven days shall they fill your hand. 34. As was done to-day, Yahwè has commanded to be done [in the future] to make atonement for you. 35. And you shall remain day and night during seven days at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and you shall observe the ordinance of Yahwè lest you die, for so I have been commanded. 36. So Aaron and his sons did all the things which Yahwè commanded by means of Moses.

IX. 1. But it came to pass on the eighth day that Moses called Aaron and his sons and the elders of Israel, 2. and said to Aaron, Take thee a bull calf for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering, both without blemish, and bring them before Yahwè. 3. And to the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Take a he-goat for a sin offering and a calf and a lamb, each a year old, without blemish, for a burnt offering, 4. and an ox and a ram for peace offerings to slay before Yahwè and a meal offering mixed with oil, for to-day Yahwè will appear² to you. 5. So they took that which Moses had ordered before the tent of meeting, and all the congregation drew near and stood

¹ 'Have been commanded.' So LXX., Pesh., Onk., as in Massoretic text of 35 and x. 13.

² 'Will appear.' Dillmann's emendation of the pointing has been adopted.

before Yahwè. 6. And Moses said, This is the thing which Yahwè has commanded you to do, that the glory of Yahwè may appear to you. 7. And Moses said to Aaron, Draw near to the altar, and make thy sin offering and thy burnt offering and make propitiation for thyself and for the people and make the oblation of the people and make atonement for them, as Yahwè has commanded. 8. So Aaron drew near to the altar and slew the calf of the sin offering which was for himself. 9. And the sons of Aaron brought him the blood, and he dipped his finger in the blood and put it on the horns of the altar, but the [rest of the] blood he poured out at the base of the altar, 10. and he burned on the altar the fat and the kidneys and the appendage on the liver of the sin offering, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 11. But the flesh and the skin he burned with fire outside the camp. 12. Next he slew the burnt offering and the sons of Aaron presented the blood to him and he sprinkled it on the altar round about. 13. Also they presented to him the burnt offering in pieces with the head, and he burnt it on the altar, 14. and he washed the inwards and the legs and burnt them on the altar over the burnt offering. 15. Afterwards he brought the oblation of the people and took the goat for the sin offering which was for the people and slew it and made it a sin offering as in the first case. 16. Then he brought the burnt offering and made it according to the rite. 17. Also he brought the meal offering and took a handful thereof and burnt it on the altar over and above the morning burnt sacrifice. 18. Also he slew the ox and the ram as a sacrifice of peace offerings, intended for the people ; and the sons of Aaron presented to him the blood, and he sprinkled it on the altar round about, 19. and the fat pieces of the ox and the ram and the fat tail and the envelope of fat and the kidneys and the appendage of the liver. 20. And they placed the fat pieces on the breasts, and he burnt the fat pieces on the altar. 21. But Aaron waved the breasts and the right thigh as a wave offering before Yahwè, as Moses had commanded.

22. Then Aaron lifted up his hand towards the people and blessed them and came down after making the sin offering and the burnt offering and the peace offerings. 23. Also Moses and Aaron went to the tent of meeting and came forth and blessed the people, and the glory of Yahwè appeared to all the people. 24. Then fire went forth from the presence of Yahwè and consumed the burnt offering and the fat pieces on the altar, and all the people shouted at the sight and fell on their faces.

NADAB AND ABIHU PUNISHED WITH DEATH. RULES FOR
PRIESTLY SERVICE.

X. 1. Then Nadab and Abihu the sons of Aaron took each of them his censer and put fire therein and placed incense upon it and offered strange fire¹ before Yahwè which he had not commanded them. 2. But fire went forth from the presence of Yahwè and devoured them, so that they died before Yahwè. 3. Then Moses said to Aaron, This is the thing which Yahwè spoke saying,

In them that are nigh to me will I show my sanctity
and before all the people will I display my glory.

So Aaron held his peace. 4. Then Moses called Mishael and

¹ X. 1-20. Wellh. followed by most other critics (not, however, by Dillm.) regards 6-7 as secondary. These verses take for granted that the seven days of consecration (viii. 33) were still running, whereas they are already over in ix. 1. Vv. 8-11. seem to be an addition to 6, 7. The words translated 'That you may distinguish' are of doubtful meaning, and, if their rendering be right, do not even suit the immediate context, since it was not only while officiating in the tent of meeting that priests were called upon to distinguish clean from unclean. It is possible, as Driver suggests, that fragments from various sources have been loosely connected by the editor. In vv. 16-20 we have an interesting correction of ch. ix., and an attempt to bring it into harmony with a later rule. In ix. 15 *seq.*, Aaron burns the flesh of the goat presented as a sin offering for the people, although we are not told that its blood was brought into the tent and sprinkled on the altar of incense. This, however, was against the later rule in Lev. iv., that the priests are to eat the flesh of the sin offering unless it had been put on the horns of the altar of incense, etc. Hence the author of 16-20 in this chapter provides Aaron with a special excuse on this occasion, and points out that the case was exceptional.

Elzaphan the sons of Uzziel Aaron's uncle and said to them, Draw near and carry your kinsmen from the front of the holy place to the outside of the camp. 5. So they drew near and took them in their tunics to the outside of the camp, as Moses had said. 6. *And Moses said to Aaron and to Eleazar and Ithamar his sons, You shall not bare your heads or rend your garments, lest you die, and he be angry against the whole congregation, but your brethren the whole house of Israel may weep for the conflagration which Yahwè has made.* 7. *But you shall not go out from the entrance of the tent of meeting, lest you die, for the oil of Yahwè's anointing is upon you. So they did according to the word of Moses.*

8. *And Yahwè spoke to Aaron, saying,* 9. *You shall not drink wine or strong drink, thou or thy sons with thee, when you go into the tent of meeting, lest you die: it is a perpetual statute during your generations ;* 10. *that you may distinguish between that which is holy and that which is common, and between that which is unclean and that which is pure,* 11. *and that you may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which Yahwè spoke to them by means of Moses.*

12. *And Moses spoke to Aaron and to Eleazar and Ithamar his sons that were left, Take the meal offering that is left from the things offered by fire to Yahwè and eat it unleavened beside the altar, for it is most holy,* 13. *and you shall eat it in a holy place, for it is that which falls by right to thee and thy sons from the fire offerings of Yahwè, since thus I have been commanded.* 14. *But the breast that is waved and the thigh which is removed you shall eat in a clean place, thou and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, since they have been allotted to thee and thy sons from the sacrifices of the peace offerings of the children of Israel.* 15. *They shall bring the thigh that is removed and the breast that is waved with the fat pieces that are to be burnt to wave as a wave offering before Yahwè, and they shall belong to thee and thy sons with thee as a perpetual due, according to Yahwè's command.*

16. *Now Moses made diligent search for the goat of the sin offering, and behold it was burnt, and he was wroth with Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons that were left, saying, 17. Why have you not eaten the sin offering in the holy place? For it is most holy and that it is which he has given you that you may take away the iniquity of the congregation, making atonement for them before Yahwè. 18. See, its blood is not brought into the sanctuary within: you are to eat it in the holy place, as I commanded. 19. And Aaron spoke to Moses, Behold, this day have they made their sin offering and their burnt offering before Yahwè and [yet] things such as these have happened to me: and had I eaten the sin offering to-day, would it have been acceptable in the sight of Yahwè? 20. But when Moses heard that, it was right in his eyes.*

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN BEASTS.

XI. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses and to Aaron saying to them, 2. Speak to the children of Israel saying, These are the animals you shall eat of all the beasts on earth. 3. All that part the hoof, and that right through, and chew the cud, among beasts, that you may eat. 4. Nevertheless these you shall not eat of, such as chew the cud or of those that part the hoof, the camel because it chews the cud but does not part the hoof; it is unclean for you: 5. and the hyrax since it chews the cud but does not part the hoof; it is unclean for you: 6. and the hare for it chews the cud but does not divide the hoof; it is unclean for you. 7. And the swine for it parts the hoof, and that right through, but does not chew the cud; it is unclean for you. 8. You shall not eat of their flesh or touch their carcasses; they are unclean for you.

9. These you may eat of all that live in the water: all that have fins and scales living in the waters whether they be seas or rivers, these you may eat. 10. But all that have no fins or scales, living in the waters, whether they be seas or rivers, among all those that swarm in the waters and all living creatures that are

in the waters, are an abomination to you. 11. An abomination to you shall they be to you ; you shall not eat of their flesh and you shall hold their carcasses in abomination. 12. All water animals that have not fins and scales, are to be an abomination to you.

13. But of birds these are they which you shall hold in abomination ; they may not be eaten, they are abominable : the griffon-vulture [?] and the bearded vulture [?] and the osprey, 14. and the falcon [?] and the different sorts of kite [?] 15. and every sort of raven 16. and the ostrich and the tachmas and the sea-mew and the different kinds of hawk, 17. and the owl [?] and the diver and the yanshuph 18. and the tinshemeth and the pelican and the vulture 19. and the stork [?] and the different kinds of anaphah and the hoopoe [?] and the bat. 20. All winged things that swarm, that go on four feet, shall be an abomination to you. 21. Yet these you may eat of all winged things that swarm which go on four feet, which have legs above their feet wherewith to spring on the earth : 22. these of them you may eat : the different kinds of migratory locust and the different kinds of solam locust and the different kinds of chargol locust and the different kinds of chagab locust. 23. But all [other] winged creatures that swarm which have four feet shall be an abomination to you.

24. *And through these¹ you shall become unclean : every one that touches their carcase shall be unclean till the evening, 25. and every one that carries one of their carcasses shall wash his garments and be unclean till the evening.* 26. *All beasts which part the*

¹ 'And through these.' Hence to the end of ver. 40, we have rules which concern not the eating of unclean meat but external contact with it. The section is a later addition, for the thread of the legislation in ver. 23 is continued in ver. 41, the insects, etc., which fly, vv. 20-23, being naturally followed by creeping things which crawl on the ground. The same Hebrew word 'sheres' is used to include both classes. Moreover, the title appended to the law in vv. 46, 47 mentions the four classes of prohibited animals specified in 2-8, 9-12, 13-23, 41-45, and takes no notice of 24-40. The law in 24-40 not only extends to the notion of uncleanness, but also deals in casuistical refinements, which are specimens of germs developed in the Talmud.

hoof but not perfectly, or do not chew the cud, are unclean for you : every one that touches them shall be unclean. 27. And all that go on their paws among all the beasts that walk on four feet are unclean for you ; every one that touches their carcase shall be unclean till the evening. 28. And he that carried their carcase shall wash his clothes and be unclean till the evening : such are unclean for you.

29. But this it is that is unclean for you among the swarming things which swarm on the earth, the weasel and the mouse and the different kinds of lizards 30. and the anaka and the koach and the letaa and the chomet and the tinshemeth. 31. These are unclean to you among all swarming things : every one that touches them, when they are dead, shall be unclean till the evening. 32. And all whereon one of them shall fall, when they are dead, shall be unclean, any vessel of wood or a garment or a skin or sackcloth, any vessel which is in use : it shall be put in water and shall be unclean till the evening : after that it shall be clean. 33. And as for any earthen vessel into the midst of which any of them falls, that which is in it shall be unclean and the vessel itself you shall break. 34. All food that is eaten whereon water comes shall be unclean and all manner of liquid that is drunk, in whatever kind of vessel it is, shall be unclean. 35. And anything whereon any one of their carcases shall fall, shall be unclean ; whether oven or range for pots, it shall be broken ; unclean they are and shall be counted unclean for you. 36. Yet a fountain or cistern to collect water shall remain clean, but he who touches their carcase shall be unclean. 37. And if one of their carcases fall on any sowing seed that is to be sown, it remains clean. 38. But if water be put on seed and one of their carcases fall on it, it shall be unclean for you.

39. But if any beast which serves you as food die, he who touches its carcase shall be unclean till the evening. 40. And he who eats of its carcase shall wash his garments and be unclean till the evening, and he who carries its carcase shall wash his garments and be unclean till the evening 41. And all swarming things that swarm on the earth are an abomination : they shall not be eaten. 42.

Whatever goes on its belly, and whatever goes on four feet, whatever has many feet and all swarming things that swarm on the earth you shall not eat, for they are an abomination. 43. **Do not make¹ yourselves abominable through any swarming things that swarm: you shall not defile yourselves with them, so as to be defiled therewith.** 44. **For I am Yahwè your God: therefore show yourselves holy and be holy, for I am holy, neither shall you defile yourselves with the swarming things that creep on the earth.** 45. **For I am Yahwè who brought you up from the land of Egypt to be your God: therefore you shall be holy, for I am holy.**

46. This is the law concerning beast and bird and every living creature that moves in the water and with respect to all creatures that swarm in the earth, 47. to distinguish unclean from clean and animals that are to be eaten from such as are not to be eaten.

WOMEN IN CHILDBIRTH.²

XII. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, When a woman conceives and bears a male child, she shall be unclean for seven days: for the same length of time as that of her impurity from [menstruous] sickness shall she be unclean. 3. But on the eighth day shall the

¹ 'Do not make,' etc. The 'Law of Holiness' chiefly remaining to us in xvii.—xxvii. refers to previous rules on clean and unclean beasts. The reference is left in xx. 25, but where are the rules? Horst and Driver suppose that these rules survive in 12-23, 41-47, of this chapter. But there is nothing in the language of many among these verses to recommend this conclusion. Vv. 43-45, however, bear at every turn unmistakable marks that they come from the 'Law of Holiness.' The elaborate rules of P have been substituted for the simpler precepts in the 'Law of Holiness,' but the hortatory conclusion of these precepts has been kept.

² 'Women in childbirth.' This chapter seems to be a later addition. If it had formed part of the original code, it would have taken its place in ch. xv. as a subdivision in the law of sexual defilement, and the words in ver. 2, 'for the same length of time,' etc., seem to show (Wellh. speaks more positively) that the author had xv. 19 before him.

flesh of his foreskin be circumcised. 4. And she shall stay at home in the blood of her purifying thirty-three days: she shall touch no holy thing nor shall she come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification be over. 5. But if she bear a female, she shall be unclean for two weeks, as in the case of her [menstruous] impurity, and she shall stay at home sixty-six days in the blood of purifying. 6. Now when the days of her purifying are over for a son or a daughter, she shall bring a lamb one year old for a burnt offering and a young pigeon or turtle dove for a sin offering to the entrance of the tent of meeting to the priest. 7. And he shall present it before Yahwè and make propitiation for her that she may be clean from the fountain of her blood.

This is the law for her that bears, whether male or female. 8. But if her means do not suffice for a lamb, let her take two turtle doves or two young pigeons, one for a burnt offering and one for a sin offering, and the priest shall make atonement for her that she may be clean.

LEPROSY.¹

XIII. 1. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying,

¹ 'Leprosy,' xiii., xiv. It appears from Deut. xxiv. 8 that the priests were in possession of *tôrâh* or law on the ritual to be followed in case of leprosy. There is no reason to think that the law referred to is given here in its original form, or even that the kernel of the law corresponds exactly to a written rule followed by the priests when Deut. was written. Nevertheless there is some force in Wurster's contention (*Z.A.W.* 1884, p. 224 *seq.*), that in Lev. xiii., xiv. there is a substratum older than P. He finds traces of this substratum in passages which do not recognise the camp life, the tabernacle, Aaron and his sons. Contrast xiv. 2, the leper 'shall be brought to the priest' with the later statement, xiv. 3, when the priest is to go outside the camp: xiii. 46, when the leper is to 'dwell alone,' an expression to be interpreted by xiii. 4, where the leper is to be 'shut up,' probably outside the village or town, with the later statement at the close of xiii. 46, that 'his dwelling is to be without the camp.' Again xiii. 2-46^a xiv. 1-8^a, form a connected whole. First down to xiii. 46^a we have the signs of leprosy ending with, 'he is unclean; he shall dwell alone,' then xiv. 1-8^a the law of purification ending with 'he shall be clean.' We have only to remove the awkward and superfluous words 'to

2. When a man has on the skin of his flesh a rising or a scab or a white spot and it becomes the plague of leprosy on the skin of his flesh, he shall be brought to Aaron the priest or to one of his sons that are priests. 3. And the priest shall look at the spot on the skin of the flesh, and if the hair in the spot be turned white and the spot where the plague appears be deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the plague of leprosy, and the priest when he sees it shall pronounce him unclean. 4. But if there be a white shining spot on the skin of his flesh which does not appear deeper than the skin and if the hair thereof be not turned white, the priest shall shut up the [man with the] spot seven days. 5. Then on the seventh day the priest shall look at him and if he find that the spot is stationary in its appearance,¹ if the spot have not spread on the skin, the priest shall shut him up seven days more. 6. And the priest shall look at him on the seventh day once more and if the spot be dim, and if the spot has not spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean; it is a scab: so he shall wash his clothes and be clean. 7. But if the scab has certainly spread in the skin after he has shown himself to the priest for his cleansing, he shall show himself again to the priest. 8. Then the priest shall look and if the scab has spread in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is leprosy.

9. If the plague of leprosy be on a man, he shall be brought to the priest. 10. Then the priest shall look and if there be a

Aaron the priest or to one of his sons the priests' from xiii. 2, which then agrees with xiv. 2. In this long passage the 'tent of meeting' is conspicuous by absence. It is only in xiv. 8^b that we revert to the usual language of P. While, however, there is much to recommend Wurster's theory, that the kernel of xiii., xiv. is from the 'Law of Holiness,' the characteristic marks of language are wanting. But there is considerable force in Cornill's inference (*Einleit.*, p. 79) from Lev. xxii. 4-5, that originally the 'Law of Holiness' prescribed rules, not only on clean and unclean animals, but also on leprosy, issue, contamination by contact with a corpse and pollution.

¹ 'In its appearance.' This correction of the Massoretic text, which reads 'in his eyes,' is supported by ver. 55, and yields better sense. So Kautzsch and Driver.

white rising on the skin and it has turned the hair white, and there is quick raw flesh in the rising, 11. this is inveterate leprosy in the skin of his flesh: so the priest shall pronounce him unclean: he shall not shut him up, for he is unclean. 12. But if the leprosy break out all over the skin, so that the leprosy covers the whole skin of the man that is stricken with it from his head to his feet, namely all that presents itself to the eyes of the priest, 13. the priest shall look and if the leprosy has covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce the stricken man clean; all of him is turned white: he is clean. 14. But whenever raw flesh appears in him, he shall be unclean. 15. So when the priest sees the raw flesh, he shall pronounce him unclean: the raw flesh is unclean, it is leprosy. 16. But if the raw flesh shall change and be turned to white, then he shall come to the priest, 17. and the priest shall look at him and if the spot be turned to white, the priest shall pronounce the stricken man clean: clean he is.

18. And if the skin of the flesh have a boil upon it and it be healed, 19. and there come in the place of the boil a white rising or a bright spot reddish-white, then he shall show himself to the priest. 20. And the priest shall look and if it appear lower than the skin and its hair be turned white, the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is the plague of leprosy: it has broken out in the boil. 21. But if, when the priest looks at it there is no white hair in it and it is not lower than the skin and it is dim, the priest shall shut him up seven days. 22. But if it spread more and more in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean: it is a plague. 23. If however the bright spot stays where it is without spreading, it is the scar of the boil, and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

24. And if the skin of the flesh has the mark of burning by fire and the raw flesh of the mark made by burning become a bright spot reddish-white or white, 25. the priest shall look at it, and if the hair be turned white in the bright spot and it appear deeper than the skin, it is leprosy which has broken forth in the

mark made by burning : therefore the priest shall pronounce him unclean : it is the plague of leprosy. 26. But if, when the priest sees it, there be no white hair in the bright spot, and it be not lower than the skin and it be grown dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days, 27. and the priest shall see him on the seventh day ; if it spreads more and more in the skin, the priest shall pronounce him unclean : it is the plague of leprosy. 28. But if the bright spot stay where it was, without spreading in the skin, and is grown dim, it is the rising of the mark made by burning : so the priest shall pronounce him clean, for it is the scar of the burning.

29. If a man or woman has a sore on the head or beard, 30. then the priest shall look at the sore and if it appear deeper than the skin and there be in it yellow thin hair, the priest shall pronounce him unclean : it is a scall, it is leprosy of the head or beard. 31. But if, when the priest looks at the sore of the scall, it do not appear deeper than the skin, but there be no black hair in it, the priest shall shut up the man with the sore of the scall seven days. 32. And the priest shall look at the sore on the seventh day, and if the scall has not spread and there be no yellow hair in it, and the scall does not appear below the level of the skin, 33. then the man shall shave himself without shaving the scall, and the priest shall shut up the man with the scall seven days more. 34. And the priest shall look at the scall on the seventh day and if the scall has not spread in the skin and do not appear below the level of the skin, the priest shall pronounce him clean, and he shall wash his clothes and be clean. 35. But if the scall continue to spread in the skin after his cleansing, 36. the priest shall look at him and if the scall has spread in the skin, the priest need not search for yellow hair ; he is unclean. 37. But if the scall has remained the same in its aspect and black hair has sprouted in it, the scall is healed ; he is clean, and the priest shall pronounce him clean.

38. If a man or woman have bright spots on the skin of their flesh, bright spots that are white, 39. the priest shall look and if

the bright spots on the skin of their flesh be of a dull white, it is alphas which has broken forth in the skin : he is clean.

40. If the hair fall off a man's head, he is bald behind : he is clean. 41. And if the hair fall off his head in front, he is forehead bald : he is clean. 42. But if there be in his baldness behind or before, a reddish-white sore, it is leprosy that breaks forth in his baldness behind or before. 43. And the priest shall look on it, and if the rising of the sore be reddish-white in his baldness behind or before with the appearance of leprosy in the skin of his flesh, 44. he is a leper, he is unclean : the priest shall forthwith pronounce him unclean : he has the plague on his head.

45. Now the leper who has the plague on him shall wear his garments rent and the hair of his head loose and shall cover his beard and shall cry, Unclean, unclean. 46. All the days that the plague is on him he shall be unclean : unclean is he : he shall dwell alone : outside of the camp shall his dwelling be.

47. And if the plague of leprosy be in a garment whether it be a woollen or linen garment, 48. or in linen or woollen warp or woof, or in leather or anything made of leather, 49. and if the plague spot be greenish or reddish in the garment or the leather or the warp or woof or in any leather utensil, it is the plague of leprosy and shall be shown to the priest. 50. And the priest shall look at the spot and shall shut up that which has the spot seven days. 51. And the priest shall look at the spot on the seventh day : if the spot be spread in the garment or in the warp or woof or in the leather, in any sort of thing whereto leather is wrought for service, the spot is malignant leprosy : it is unclean. 52. And they shall burn the garment or the warp or the woof whether woollen or linen or any leather utensil in which the spot may be, for it is malignant leprosy ; it shall be burnt with fire. 53. But if, when the priest looks, the spot has not spread in the garment or in the warp or woof or in the leather utensil of whatsoever kind, 54. the priest shall bid them wash that

wherein the spot is and he shall shut it up seven days more. 55. And the priest shall look, after the spot has been washed, and if the spot has not changed its appearance and the spot has not spread, it is unclean; thou shalt burn it with fire; it is a fret, whether the bareness be within or without. 56. But if, when the priest looks, the spot has grown pale after it has been washed, he shall tear it from the garment or from the leather or from the warp or from the woof. 57. And if it be seen still in the garment or in the warp or woof or in the leather utensil whatever it may be, it is breaking out afresh: thou shalt burn with fire that wherein the spot is found. 58. But the garment or woof or warp or leather utensil of any kind from which the leprosy has disappeared after washing, must be washed a second time. Then they shall be clean.

59. This is the law concerning the plague of leprosy in garment of wool or linen or warp or woof or any leather object, as to pronouncing it clean or unclean.

PURIFICATION OF LEPERS.¹

XIV. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. This shall be the law for the leper at the time of his cleansing: he shall be brought to the priest: 3. and the priest shall go forth outside the camp and the priest shall look and if the plague of leprosy be healed from the leper, the priest shall command two living clean birds to be taken for him that is having himself cleansed, and cedar wood and scarlet and hyssop. 5. Then the priest shall command them to slay one of the birds into an earthen vessel over running water. 6. But as for the living bird, he shall

¹ 'Purification of lepers.' The rite, in part at least, must be of immemorial antiquity. The bird which was supposed to fly away with the leper's defilement is analogous to the Arab custom according to which a bird flies away with the widow's uncleanness and makes her fit for remarriage (R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 428; Wellh. *Skizzen*, iii. p. 156). Compare also the Assyrian prayer (*Records of the Past*, ix. p. 151), 'May the bird to heaven cause it [my groaning] to ascend.'

take it, as well as the cedar wood and the scarlet and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird that has been slain over the running water. 7. And he shall sprinkle him that is having himself cleansed from the leprosy seven times to cleanse him, but he shall let the living bird loose into the open field. 8. Then he that is having himself cleansed shall wash his garments and shave off all his hair and shall wash himself in water; so he shall be clean, and afterwards he shall come into the camp, but shall dwell outside his tent for seven days. 9. And it shall be on the seventh day that he shall shave all his hair off his head and his beard and his eyebrows, in short he shall shave off all his hair, and he shall wash his garments and bathe his body in water, that so he may be clean.

10. Now on the eighth day he shall take two he-lambs without blemish and one she-lamb a year old without blemish and three tenths [of an ephah] of fine flour as a meal-offering mingled with oil and a log of oil. 11. And the priest who cleanses him shall set the man that is having himself cleansed, and those things, before Yahwè at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 12. And the priest shall take one of the he-lambs and offer it as a guilt offering¹ with the log of oil and shall wave them as a wave offering before Yahwè. 13. Now he shall slay the he-lamb in the place where they slay the sin offering and the burnt offering, in the holy place, since the guilt like the sin offering is the priest's: it is most holy. 14. Then the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest shall put it on the tip of the right ear of him who has himself cleansed and on the thumb

¹ 'A guilt offering.' Many attempts have been made to answer the question why the leper had to offer a guilt offering, a kind of sacrifice originally prescribed in cases where a person had appropriated to his own use the property of another, especially of Yahwè. Nowack's answer (*Hebr. Archäol.*, ii. p. 292 *seq.*) seems on the whole most likely. He thinks that the legislator was struck by the strange nature of the rite which he did not invent but preserve, and could not identify it with any form of sin offering. He chose instead the less familiar name of guilt offering, a term which in his time may have lost its original and definite meaning.

of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot. 15. Also the priest shall take some of the log of oil and the priest shall pour it into the palm of his left hand, 16. and the priest shall dip his right finger in the oil that is on his left palm and he shall sprinkle some of the oil with his finger seven times before Yahwè. 17. And the priest shall put some of the rest of the oil which is on his palm on the tip of the right ear of him that has himself purified and on the thumb of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot over the blood of the guilt offering. 18. And he shall put what is left of the oil which is in the priest's palm on the head of him that has himself cleansed, and the priest shall make propitiation for him before Yahwè. 19. Then the priest shall make the sin offering and make propitiation because of his uncleanness for him that has himself cleansed and afterwards he shall slay the burnt offering. 20. And the priest shall make the burnt offering and the meal offering on the altar, and the priest shall make propitiation for him, so that he shall be clean.

21. Now if he be poor and cannot get so much, he shall take one he-lamb for a guilt offering to be waved to make propitiation for him, and a tenth [of an ephah] of fine flour mingled with oil as a meal offering and a log of oil, 22. and two turtle doves or two pigeons, such as he can get, that the one may be a sin offering and the other a burnt offering. 23. And he shall bring them on the eighth day for his purification to the priest, to the entrance of the tent of meeting before Yahwè. 24. Then the priest shall take the he-lamb for the guilt offering and the log of oil, and the priest shall wave them as a wave offering before Yahwè. 25. And he shall slay the he-lamb for the guilt offering and the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt offering and shall put it on the tip of the right ear of him that has himself cleansed and on the thumb of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot. 26. Also the priest shall pour some of the oil on his own left palm, 27. and the priest with his right finger shall sprinkle some of the oil that is on his left palm seven times before Yahwè. 28. And the priest shall put some of the oil that is on his palm

on the tip of the right ear of him that has himself purified, and on the thumb of his right hand and on the great toe of his right foot, on the place where the blood of the guilt offering was put. 29. And he shall put what is left of the oil which is on his own palm on the head of him that has himself purified to make propitiation for him before Yahwè. 30. And he shall offer one of the turtle doves or young pigeons, such as he can get, 31. the one for a sin offering¹ and the other for a burnt offering besides the meal offering: and the priest shall make propitiation before Yahwè for him who has himself cleansed. 32. This is the law for him who has the plague of leprosy in him, if his means are insufficient on the occasion of his cleansing.

LEPROSY IN HOUSES.²

33. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying, 34. When you shall come into the land of Canaan, which I am giving you for a possession, and I put the plague of leprosy in a house within the land which you possess, 35. he to whom the house belongs shall go and tell the priest, saying, There has appeared to me something like a plague in the house. 36. Then the priest shall give orders that they clear the house before the priest comes to see the spot, lest all that is in the house be defiled, and afterwards the priest shall go in to see the house. 37. And when he sees the house, if the spots be in the walls of the house in the form of cavities that are greenish or reddish, appearing below the level of the wall, 38. then the priest shall go out of the house to the entrance of the house and shall shut up the house seven days. 39. And the priest shall*

¹ 'The one for a sin offering.' The Massoretic text repeats with a slight variation the last words of the preceding verse at the beginning of this, viz.: 'Even such as he is able to get.' The words, which are due to clerical error, are absent in LXX.

² 'Leprosy in Houses.' This section, vv. 33-57, is certainly a later addition. If it had belonged to the original body of the law, it would have come after xiii. 47-59, which treats of leprosy in garments. So Wellh., Kuenen, Cornill, etc.

return on the seventh day and shall look, and if the spots have spread in the walls of the house, 40. then the priest shall order them to pull out the stones in which the spots are and to cast them outside the city into an unclean place. 41. And he shall scrape the inside of the house all round and they shall pour the mortar which they have scraped off into an unclean place outside of the city. 42. And they shall take fresh stones and put them in the place of the [old] stones and they shall take fresh mortar and plaster the house. 43. But if the spots return and break out in the house after they have pulled out the stones and after they have scraped the house and after it has been [fresh] plastered, 44. the priest shall go in and see, and if the spots have spread in the house, it is a case of malignant leprosy in the house: it is unclean. 45. So they shall pull down the house, its stone and its wood and all the mortar of the house and shall bring them forth outside the city to an unclean place. 46. And any one who goes into the house all the time that it is shut up, shall be unclean till the evening. 47. And he who sleeps in the house shall wash his garments, and he who eats in the house shall wash his garments. 48. But if, when the priest comes in and looks, the spots have not spread in the house, after the house has been plastered, then the priest shall pronounce the house clean, because the plague has been healed. 49. And he shall take to cleanse the house from sin two birds and cedar wood and scarlet and hyssop. 50. And he shall slay one of the birds into an earthen vessel over running water, 51. and he shall take the cedar wood and the hyssop and the scarlet and the living bird and dip them in the blood of the slain bird and in the running water and shall sprinkle the house seven times, 52. and shall cleanse the house from sin with the blood of the bird and with the living water and with the living bird and with the cedar wood and hyssop and scarlet. 53. And he shall let the living bird go out of the city to the open field: so shall he make propitiation for the house, that it may be clean.

54. This is the law for the plague of leprosy in whatever form, and for the scab, 55. and for the leprosy of garment or house.

56. *and for rising and scurf and bright spot*, 57. *to teach when it is unclean and when it is clean. This is the law respecting leprosy.*

UNCLEANNESS FROM DISCHARGE.

XV. 1. Further Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, When a man has a discharge from his private parts, his discharge is unclean. 3. And thus shall it be with his uncleanness because of his discharge : whether his private parts run with the issue or whether his private parts be stopped up so that nothing flows forth, this is uncleanness in him. 4. Any couch on which the man with an issue lies shall be unclean, and any furniture on which he sits shall be unclean. 5. Also the man who touches his couch shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 6. And he who sits on the furniture whereon the man with an issue sat, shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 7. Moreover he who touches the body of the man with an issue, shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 8. And if the man with an issue spit on one that is clean, he shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 9. And any saddle on which the man with an issue rides shall be unclean. 10. And whoever touches any thing that was under him, shall be unclean till the evening, and he that carries such things, shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 11. Also any one whom the man with an issue touches without rinsing his hands in water, shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 12. And every earthen vessel which the man with an issue shall touch shall be broken, and every wooden vessel shall be rinsed with water.

13. But when the man with an issue shall be clean from his issue, he shall wait seven days for the declaration that he is clean : then he shall wash his garments and bathe his body in run-

ning water, that he may be clean. 14. And on the eighth day he shall take to him two turtles doves or two young pigeons and shall go before Yahwè to the entrance of the tent of meeting and shall give them to the priest, 15. and the priest shall offer them, one as a sin offering and one as a burnt offering: so the priest shall make propitiation for him before Yahwè because of his issue.

16. Also if the flow of seed¹ go forth from a man, he shall wash all his body in water and be unclean till the evening: 17. and any garment or leather on which seed has dropped, shall be washed in water and be unclean till the evening. 18. And if a man lies beside a woman² and there be a flow of seed, they shall bathe in water and be unclean till the evening.

19. If a woman has an issue, her issue being blood in her body, she shall remain for seven days in her separation and every one who touches her shall be unclean till the evening. 20. Moreover all whereon she lies during her separation shall be unclean, and all whereon she sits shall be unclean. 21. And any one who touches her bed shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 22. And any one who touches any furniture whereon she sat, shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 23. And if he touches any thing that is on the bed or on the furniture whereon she sits, he shall be unclean till the evening. 24. But if a man lies beside³ her and her impurity come upon him, he shall be

¹ 'Also if the flow of seed,' etc. The sense is doubtful and much disputed. Possibly the legislator requires purification after all concubitus, which would quite accord with ancient ideas on the subject in general and Hebrew ideas in particular. Comp. Exod. xix. 15, 1 Sam. xxi. 5 *seq.*, 2 Sam. xi. 4.

² 'Beside a woman.' Many translate 'lie with,' which is quite defensible. But ver. 24 shows that the translation here given is also possible. See next note.

³ 'Lies beside.' Here again the Hebrew will certainly bear the translation 'with her' (i.e. *in concubitu*). But it is scarcely credible that such an action should be so lightly treated. In Lev. xx. 18, the penalty is excision for both man and woman. Nowack suggests that the case intended here may be cohabitation with a woman of whose state the man is ignorant. But if so, some indication of this would have been given in the text.

unclean seven days, and any couch whereon he may lie shall be unclean.

25. Now if a woman has an issue of blood for a long time, when it is not the period of her impurity, or if she has an issue beyond the [natural] time of her impurity, all the time that her uncleanness discharges itself she shall be regarded as if she were in the season of her [natural] impurity: she is unclean. 26. Any bed whereon she shall lie all the time of her issue, shall be regarded in her case as if it were her bed during her [natural] impurity, and any furniture whereon she sits shall be unclean, as if it had the uncleanness of her [natural] impurity. 27. And every one who touches them shall be unclean and shall wash his garments and bathe in water and be unclean till the evening. 28. But if she be clean from her issue, she shall reckon for herself seven days and after that she shall be considered clean. 29. Then on the eighth day she shall take for herself two turtle doves or two young pigeons and shall bring them to the priest at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 30. And the priest shall offer one as a sin offering and the other as a burnt offering: so the priest shall make propitiation for her before Yahwè because of the issue of her uncleanness.

31. Thus you shall separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness, lest they die because of their uncleanness, inasmuch as they defile my tabernacle which is in the midst of them.

32. This is the law concerning him that has an issue and him from whom seed flows forth, so that he becomes unclean therefore, 33. and concerning her who is sick with her [ordinary] impurity and concerning one that has an [extraordinary] issue, whether male or female, and concerning a man who lies beside an unclean woman.

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.¹

XVI. 1. Now Yahwè spoke to Moses after the death of

¹ 'Day of Atonement,' Lev. xvi. This chapter has been skilfully analysed by Benzinger (*Z.A.W.*, 1889, p. 65 *seq.*), and his conclusions, accepted by

Aaron's two sons, when they drew near to Yahwè's presence and died, 2. and Yahwè said to Moses, Speak to Aaron thy brother that he come not at any time whatever it may be into the holy place within the veil in front of the covering slab which is over the ark, lest he die, because in the cloud I appear over the covering slab. 3. Under this condition shall Aaron come into the holy place with a young bullock for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering. 4. He shall put on a holy linen tunic and there shall be linen drawers on his private parts and he shall gird himself with a linen band, and he shall attire himself with the

Nowack (*Hebr. Archäol.* ii. p. 187 *seq.*), by Stade and by Cheyne (*Z.A.W.* 1895, p. 153), seem to be substantially correct. In 1-4, 6 (ver. 11 is a mere doublet of ver. 6), 12-13, 34^b we have a section closely and in an intelligible way connected with ch. x. There we are told that two of Aaron's sons died because they offered 'strange fire,' *i.e.* neglected the prescribed ritual of sacrifice. In this chapter therefore, Aaron is warned that he is not to enter the holy place at all times, but only after offering sacrifice for the sins of himself and of his family. Then in 29-34^a the tenth day of the seventh month is set aside as a time of solemn fast and abstinence from work. The anointed (*i.e.* the High) Priest is to make propitiation in white garments for the tabernacle and its furniture, for the priests and people. Here also the section is clear in itself, and naturally connected with that which precedes it.

It is quite otherwise with 5, 7-10, 14-28. They prescribe elaborate rites for the Day of Atonement, though we are not told when that day is to be kept. And, worse still, they are interpolated in a passage occupied with a subject which is quite different. Vv. 1-4, 6, 12-13 prescribe sacrifices for Aaron in order that he may safely enter the holy place. The other verses, viz., 5, 7-10, 14-28 institute a day in which Aaron is to make atonement for his own sins and the sins of the people, and he is to do so by bringing the blood into the innermost shrine and so into closest proximity to Yahwè. No mention is made of fasting or abstinence from work, though, if the chapter came from one hand, that and the annual date of the solemnity could scarcely have failed to stand at the beginning of the ordinance. Again, if the author of 29-34^b had ever read the rules for the Day of Atonement, which now stand in 5, 7-10, 14-28, and merely meant to give a summary of them, how comes it that he entirely omits all reference to the most striking features of the ritual, such as the goat for Azazel and the manipulation of the blood of the sin offerings?

The Day of Atonement even as prescribed in the older section of this chapter is not pre-exilic. Ezekiel furnishes a conclusive argument on this point, and it is no mere argument from silence, for he strove to introduce (xlv. 18-20, LXX.) two days of atonement or propitiation for the temple, viz., on the first day of the first and on the first day of the seventh month. On the

linen mitre: these are holy vestments and he shall put them on after bathing his body in water. 5. *Also he shall take two he-goats from the congregation of the children of Israel for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering.* 6. Then Aaron shall offer the bullock for his own sin offering and make propitiation for himself and for his house. 7. *And he shall take the two goats and place them before Yahwè at the entrance of the tent of meeting.* 8. *And Aaron shall cast lots for the two goats, one lot for Yahwè and one lot for Azazel.*¹ 9. *Then Aaron shall bring the goat on which the lot for Yahwè fell and shall offer it as a sacrifice for sin.* 10. *But the goat on which the lot for Azazel fell shall be*

other hand no argument can be drawn from the fact that when Ezra read the (Priestly) law for the first time to the people (Nehem. viii., ix.) throughout the seventh month, a pause was made for the celebration of the feast of the tabernacles during eight days and a penitential day was kept on the twenty-fourth of the month, while the Day of Antonement on the tenth was passed by without notice. The Priestly Code in its original form simply enjoins fasting and abstinence from work and no central importance is given to the day. It is not therefore difficult to suppose that Ezra in the case of a new ordinance transferred the celebration from some motive of convenience. He might well be more exact with regard to the feast of tabernacles, for here the feast was old and deeply rooted in the minds of the people, although the manner of observance was new. But we may feel a reasonable certainty that if the striking ceremonies of sending the goat to Azazel, sprinkling the blood on the veil, etc., etc. had been known to Ezra some notice would have been taken of them in Nehem. viii., ix., chapters which display a predominant interest in ritual.

¹ 'One lot for Yahwè and one lot for Azazel.' The opposition of Yahwè to Azazel shows clearly that the latter as well as the former is a personal name. He is generally supposed to have been a demon of the desert, but he is nowhere else mentioned in that character, and considering the late date of the ritual much is to be said for Cheyne's theory (*Z.A.W.*, 1895, p. 253 *seq.*), that he is identical with the Azazel who appears in the primitive portion of the Book of Enoch as the leader of the fallen angels who lusted after the daughters of men (Gen. vi.). At the same time, if the ritual and even the name Azazel be comparatively modern, no doubt the ritual contains ancient elements. 'It is a combination,' as Cheyne says, 'of a primitive sacrifice to the deity or deities of the desert with a superstitious custom still very widely prevalent (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii. and cf. Lyall, *Fortnightly Review*, 1872, p. 131), according to which evils of all kinds are got rid of by lading them on some animal, which is thereupon driven away from the community like the scapegoat.'

set alive before Yahwè to make propitiation for it,¹ that they may send it forth to Azazel in the desert.

11. Then shall Aaron offer the bullock for his own sin offering and shall make propitiation for himself and for his house and he shall slay the bullock for his own sin offering. 12. Also he shall take a panful of red coal² from the altar before Yahwè and perfumed incense beaten fine, as much as both his hands can hold, and shall carry it within the veil, 13. and shall put the incense on the fire before Yahwè, so that the cloud of incense may enshroud the covering slab which is over the [ark with the] testimony, lest he die. 14. *Then he shall take some of the bullock's blood and sprinkle it with his finger before the covering slab in front, and he shall sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times before the covering slab.* 15. *Then he shall kill the goat for the people's sin offering, and shall bring the blood within the veil, and shall do with the blood as he did with the bullock's blood and shall sprinkle it on the covering slab and in front of the covering slab.* 16. *So shall he make propitiation for the holy place to free it from the impurities of the children of Israel and from their transgressions whereinsoever they have sinned, and so he shall do likewise to the tent of meeting which dwells with them in the midst of their impurities.* 17. *Now there shall be no man in the tent of meeting from the time when he enters to make propitiation in the holy place till he goes out, and he shall make propitiation for himself, and for his house, and for all the assembly of Israel.* 18. *Next he shall go out to the altar which is before Yahwè, and make*

¹ 'To make propitiation for it,' *i.e.* the second goat by the fact of being presented before Yahwè came under the influence of the propitiation made by the blood of the former goat and so was fitted to carry off the sins of the people. This at least seems the most tolerable explanation of an obscure expression. See Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. p. 192.

² 'A panful of red coal,' etc. Here, as in all passages which belong to the 'Priestly Code' in its original form, there is no mention of the altar of incense. Yet the legislator must have given it a place in the ritual here, had he known of its existence. In his view the pan and the coals from the altar, *i.e.* the altar of burnt offering, take the place afterwards filled by the altar of incense.

propitiation for it and shall take some of the bullock's blood and some of the goat's blood, and put it on the horns of the altar round about, 19. and shall sprinkle thereon some of the blood with his finger seven times, and shall cleanse it and sanctify it from the impurities of the children of Israel. 20. So when he has done making propitiation for the holy place, and the tent of meeting, and the altar, he shall present the live goat. 21. And Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat and shall confess over it all the iniquities of the children of Israel and all their transgressions whereinsoever they have sinned and shall put them on the goat's head and shall send it forth to the wilderness by means of a man kept in readiness. 22. Thus the goat shall bear on itself all their iniquities to a solitary land. So shall they send the goat forth in the wilderness. 23. Then Aaron shall go into the tent of meeting and shall put off the linen vestments which he put on when he entered the holy place and he shall leave them there. 24. And he shall bathe his body in water in a holy place and put on his [ordinary] vestments, and when he has come forth he shall offer his burnt offering and the burnt offering of the people, so as to make propitiation for himself and for the people. 25. And he shall burn the fat of the sin offering on the altar. 26. And he that sent forth the goat to Azazel shall wash his garments and bathe his body in water and afterwards he shall come into the camp. 27. But the bullock for the sin offering and the goat for the sin offering whose blood was brought in to make propitiation in the holy place, shall be taken out beyond the camp, and their skins and flesh and dung shall be burnt with fire. 28. And he who burns them shall wash his garments and bathe his body in water, and afterwards he shall come into the camp.

29. Now it shall be a perpetual statute for you : in the seventh month on the tenth of the month you shall afflict your souls, nor shall you do any work, either the native or the settler that is settled among you, 30. for on this day they shall make propitiation for you to cleanse you : from all your sins shall you be made clean before Yahwè. 31. It shall be a day of strict rest for you,

and you shall afflict your souls by perpetual statute. 32. And propitiation shall be made by the priest whom they shall anoint, and whose hands they shall fill to perform priestly functions in his father's stead and who shall put on the linen vestments, the holy vestments. 33. And he shall make propitiation for the holy sanctuary, and for the tent of meeting, and he shall make propitiation for the altar, and for the priests, and for all the people of the assembly shall he make propitiation. 34. And this shall be for you a perpetual statute, that propitiation may be made for the children of Israel because of all their sins once in the year. And he did as Yahwè commanded Moses.¹

LAWS ON SACRIFICE,² USE OF BLOOD, ETC.

XVII. 1. *And Yahwè spoke with Moses, saying, 2. Speak to*

¹ 'And he did as Yahwè commanded Moses.' Who did as Yahwè commanded Moses? The answer cannot be found in the immediate context, 29-34^a, for that refers to High Priest and people in all time to come. But there is little room for doubt that originally 34^b was immediately connected with 1-4, 6, 12-13. Aaron was told that before entering the Holy of Holies, he was to protect himself by sacrifice, etc., and as he was commanded, so he did. However the author who interpolated the law on the ritual of the Day of Atonement was obliged if he retained the words, 'and he did as Yahwè commanded Moses,' to place them at the end of the chapter.

² Laws on Sacrifice, etc. Here we enter on the 'Law of Holiness,' as it is now generally entitled, *i.e.* on a body of law extending from Lev. xvii. to the end of xxvi. The general character of this little code, which, while earlier than P, is closely allied to it, and prepares the way for it, has been sketched in the introduction. Here, however, we may note the characteristics which make it clear that this chapter, as a whole, forms no part of P. The author or compiler of the laws contained here, like the book of Deuteronomy, calls attention to the rule that sacrifice can be lawfully offered only at the central shrine, whereas P silently assumes this rule. In vv. 3, 4 we are told that no animal (fit for sacrifice) is to be slain, except it be presented at the sanctuary. P on the contrary (Gen. ix. 2, 3; Lev. vii. 23 *seq.*) leaves the slaughter of animals for food quite free. It may take place anywhere and without any special rite. In vv. 8, 9 sacrifices are supposed to be either holocausts or peace offerings (עֹלָה אוֹ זֶבַח). In P the sin and guilt offerings are prominent and throw other kinds of sacrifice into the shade. The language has a character of its own. Notice *e.g.* the form שֶׁאֵין for 'who-soever' in vv. 3, 8, 10, 13, which is found very frequently throughout the

Aaron and to his sons and to all the children of Israel, and say to them, This is the thing which Yahwè has commanded, saying, 3. If there be any one of the house of Israel who shall slay an ox, or a lamb, or a she-goat in the camp, or who shall slay it outside of the camp, 4. and does not bring it¹ to the entrance of the tent of

'Law of Holiness,' but is rare in P. It occurs twice with the addition 'of the house of Israel,' i.e. precisely as in this chapter, in Ezek. xiv. 4, 7. Notice also the prominence of the divine personality in the threatened punishment—in ver. 10, 'I will set my face.' The form, sometimes with a synonymous verb, occurs elsewhere in the code (xx. 3, 5, 6, xxvi. 17), as also in Ezek. xiv. 8, xv. 7^a, 7^b, but never in P.

The chapter, however, has been mixed with glosses and additions from P. In vv. 15 and 16 the style is plainly different from that of the other enactments and exactly resembles that of P. Contrast the beginning of ver. 15 with the first words in the four preceding laws vv. 3, 8, 10, 13, and compare Lev. ii. 1, iv. 2, 27, v. 1, 2, 15, 17, 21, vii. 18, 20, 21, 27. The punishment threatened in ver. 16 is also different from that mentioned in the preceding laws. In ver. 4 the words 'to the entrance of the tent of meeting' are a clumsy interpolation from P. They are quite needless, for the same meaning is expressed by the words 'before Yahwè's tabernacle,' and wherever the words 'tent of meeting' occur in our present text of the 'Law of Holiness,' it must, and easily can, be dismissed as an interpolation; ver. 5 must be emended on the same principle. Ver. 6 interrupts the connection, and is seen both by its matter and style (comp. Num. xviii. 17) to come from P. The last words in ver. 3, 'in the camp or who shall slay it outside the camp,' are in full conformity with the manner of P (Lev. iv. 12, 21, vi. 4, viii. 17, ix. 11, x. 4, 5, xiii. 46, xvi. 27). On the other hand, though the compiler of the 'Law of Holiness' indicates that the legislation was given in the wilderness (Lev. xxvi. 46), he does not call attention by phrases such as these before us to the life in the camp. If we remove the words in question, the law here becomes like in form to those which follow. Lastly, vv. 1 and 2 do not belong originally to this place and are of very late origin. The laws are for Israelites and the command here given to Moses, viz., 'Speak to Aaron and his sons and to all the children of Israel,' is quite unsuitable. The command is a conglomerate of two commands, each of them common in P, but never united, viz., 'Speak to Aaron,' etc. and 'Speak to the children of Israel.'

¹ 'And does not bring it.' Deut. xii. 15, insisting on the one place of sacrifice, naturally permits the slaughter of beasts for food, without any sacrifice at all, though the rule is modified in Deut. xii. 20 *seq.* It is very surprising, therefore, to find the 'Law of Holiness' maintaining that sacrifice was to be offered at one place only, and yet reverting to the old practice, quite intelligible when there were many local shrines, viz., that all slaughter is to be accompanied by sacrifice. At what time is it conceivable that Israelites should be expected to bring all their beasts for slaughter at Jerusalem? We

meeting to make an oblation to Yahwè before Yahwè's tabernacle, it shall be reckoned as [the guilt of] blood to that man : blood has he shed, and that man shall be cut off from the midst of his people, 5. that the children of Israel may bring their victims which they slay on the open field and may bring them to Yahwè to the entrance of the tent of meeting to the priest and may sacrifice them as sacrifices of peace offerings to Yahwè. 6. And the priest shall sprinkle the blood on Yahwè's altar at the entrance of the tent of meeting and shall burn the fat as a sweet savour to Yahwè. 7. And they shall not burn any more their sacrifices to the satyrs¹ after whom they go a-whoring. This shall be a perpetual statute to them throughout their generations.

8. And thou shalt say to them, If there be any one of the house of Israel or of the settlers² that settle in their midst, who shall offer a burnt offering or sacrifice, 9. and does not bring it

may with Kittel, Baudissin, R. Smith and Driver (*Introd.* p. 47, see reff. there) suppose that the law before its incorporation into the 'Law of Holiness,' contained no mention of the central shrine. But then, in what sense did the editor of the 'Law of Holiness' adopt it? It is much more likely that the rule was made with a view to a time when the small band of Jewish exiles would occupy a small and shrunken territory round Jerusalem. We need not with Wurster (*Z.A.W.*, 1884, p. 122 *seq.*) take for granted, that the exile was over, a theory difficult to reconcile with Lev. xxvi. The prospect of the return suffices to explain the rule. So Bäntsch (*Heiligkeits-Gesetz* p. 116 *seq.*) and apparently Holzinger (*Einleit. Hexat.* p. 447 *seq.*).

¹ 'Satyrs,' lit. 'hairy beings,' demons of goatlike form. Comp. 'the dancing satyrs' in Isa. xiii. 21, a passage which dates from about the same time as the 'Law of Holiness.' Duhm on Isa. (p. 93) explains the prominence of these and other demons of the desert in Hebrew literature, after the seventh century, partly by the desolation of the land, partly by the Deuteronomical reform, which destroyed the provincial sanctuaries. The people, he thinks, could not rid themselves of the idea that there was something supernatural about them, and having ceased to believe in Yahwè's presence there, came to think that they were haunted by evil spirits.

² 'Any of the settlers.' Here, as in P, 'the settler' is a proselyte, subject to the same law as the born Jew. See further, xix. 34, xxiv. 22, and contrast Deut. xiv. 21, where the Israelite is allowed to sell for the consumption of the gēr or settler food which he himself may not eat. The 'Law of Holiness' has lost the national feeling still strong in Deut., and regards incorporation into the theocracy, not natural descent, as the essential point.

to the entrance of the tent of meeting to sacrifice it to Yahwé, that man shall be cut off from his countrymen.

10. And if there be any one of the house of Israel or of the settlers settled in their midst who shall eat any manner of blood, I will set my face against the person that eats blood and will cut him off from the midst of his people, 11. for the life of the flesh is in the blood and I have given it you for the altar to make propitiation for yourselves, for the blood makes propitiation by means of the life. 12. Therefore I said to the children of Israel, No person among you shall eat blood nor shall the settler that settles among you eat blood.

13. And if there be any man of the house of Israel or of the settlers settled in their midst who takes in hunting any beast or bird that may be eaten, he shall pour out the blood and cover it with dust. 14. For as to the life of all flesh, its blood is bound up with its life; so I said to the children of Israel, You shall not eat the blood of any kind of flesh, for the life of all manner of flesh is its blood: every one that eats of it shall be cut off.

15. *And any person that shall eat that which dies of itself or is torn by wild beasts, whether he be native or settler, shall wash his raiment and bathe in water, and shall be unclean till the evening: then he shall be clean.* 16. *But if he does not wash them and does not bathe his body, he shall bear his iniquity.*

INCESTUOUS MARRIAGES¹ AND OTHER IMMORALITY. MOLECH WORSHIP.

XVIII. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 2. *Speak to the*

¹ 'Incestuous marriages,' etc. This chapter belongs admittedly to the 'Law of Holiness.' The laws extend from ver. 6 to 23. Here we have the characteristic words and phrases *איש איש* in ver. 6, 'enormous wickedness' (*עושה*) ver. 17, the very peculiar expression for 'near of kin' (*שאר בשרו*) in 6, the word for 'neighbour,' in 20. By consulting Driver's list (p. 45 *seq.* of his *Introduction*), the reader will see how clearly the author of these laws is separated by linguistic features from the rest of the Hexateuch and how closely allied he is to Ezekiel.

The laws seem to have been arranged by an editor (whose date, however,

children of Israel and say to them, I am Yahwè your God. 3. *After the fashion of the land of Egypt wherein you dwelt, you shall not do, and after the fashion of the land of Canaan whereto I am bringing you, you shall not do, and in their statutes you shall not walk.* 4. *My judgments shall you do and my statutes shall you observe to walk in them: I am Yahwè your God.* 5. *And you shall observe my statutes and my judgments, which if a man do, he shall live thereby: I am Yahwè.*

6. *None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover [their] nakedness: I am Yahwè.* 7. *The nakedness of thy father and the nakedness of thy mother thou shalt not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.* 8. *The nakedness of thy father's wife thou shalt not uncover: it is the nakedness of thy father.* 9. *The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father or the daughter of thy mother, born in the house or born abroad,—thou shalt not uncover their nakedness.* 10. *The nakedness of thy son's daughter or of thy daughter's daughter,—thou shalt not uncover their nakedness, for it is thine own nakedness.* 11. *The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father—she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness.* 12. *The nakedness of thy father's sister thou shalt not uncover: she is of near kin to thy father.* 13. *The nakedness of thy mother's*

is not much later than that of the laws themselves) who set them in a framework of rhetorical exhortation, vv. 1-5, 24-30. Here the address is couched in the plural form, whereas, the laws use the singular form. ('The nakedness of thy father,' etc.) Moreover, the hortatory introduction and conclusion accentuate the idea from which the 'Law of Holiness' takes its name. This we find in 'the divine I' constantly repeated. This turn of expression occurs nearly fifty times, within the short compass of the code, and is comparatively rare in the more extended 'Priestly Code.' So also the phrase, 'walking in statutes' (ver. 3) is very common in the 'Law of Holiness,' and in Ezekiel, but is absent from the rest of the Hexateuch. The author of the framework of this chapter wrote the heading of the laws against unchastity, in ver. 6. It is in the plural form and ends with 'I am Yahwè.' The same hand has at least touched up the prohibition of Molech worship, in ver. 21, which closes in the same manner. But the whole verse is out of place in the midst of laws against unchastity.

sister thou shalt not uncover, for she is near of kin to thy mother. 14. The nakedness of thy father's brother thou shalt not uncover: thou shalt not approach his wife: she is thy aunt. 15. The nakedness of thy daughter-in-law thou shalt not uncover: she is thy son's wife: thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. 16. The nakedness of thy brother's wife thou shalt not uncover: it is the nakedness of thy brother. 17. The nakedness of a woman and her daughter thou shalt not uncover: her son's daughter and her daughter's daughter thou shalt not take to uncover their nakedness: they are of close kin: it is enormous wickedness. 18. And thou shalt not take a woman along with her sister, to be a rival to her, so as to uncover her nakedness beside her in her life time.

19. Also thou shalt not approach a woman in the impurity of her menstruation to uncover her nakedness. 20. And thou shalt not lie carnally with thy fellow-countryman's wife, so as to be defiled with her. 21. And thou shalt not give any of thy seed to pass through [the fire] to Molech, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am Yahwè. 22. And thou shalt not lie with a male as with womankind: it is an abomination. 23. Neither shalt thou lie carnally with any beast to be defiled therewith, neither shall a woman stand before any beast that it may lie with her: it is a shameful thing.

24. Be not defiled with any of these things, for by all these things the nations were defiled which I am driving away before you. 25. So the land was defiled, and I visited its iniquity upon it, and the land vomited forth its inhabitants. 26. Therefore you shall observe my statutes and my judgments and you shall not do according to all these abominations, either the native or the settler that is settled in the midst of you. 27. For all these abominations did the men of the land who were before you do, so that the land was defiled: 28. lest the land vomit you forth because of your defiling it, as it has vomited forth the nation that was before you. 29. For any one who shall do any of these abominations, the persons that do them shall be cut off from the midst of their people. 30. Therefore you shall keep my

charge, so as not to act according to the abominable statutes which have been acted upon before you : neither shall you defile yourselves therewith : I am Yahwè your God.

MISCELLANEOUS LAWS.¹

XIX. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 2. *Speak to all the congregation of the children of Israel and say to them,* 3. **You shall be holy, for I am holy, Yahwè your God.** 3. **You shall fear every man his mother² and his father and you shall keep my sabbaths : I am Yahwè your God.** 4. **You shall not turn to the things of nought or make you a molten image : I am Yahwè your God.** 5. **Also when you sacrifice³ a sacrifice of peace offerings**

¹ 'Miscellaneous Laws,' ch. xix. This chapter is well described by Bântsch as a selection from the Decalogue, the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deuteronomy. Thus the arrangement corresponds to the two tables of the Decalogue, the laws in vv. 3-8 being analogous to the former, those in vv. 9-22 to the latter table. As to the 'Book of the Covenant,' comp. both as to language and thought ver. 15 with Exod. xxiii. 3, and as to Deut. vv. 9-10, with Deut. xxiv. 19-21, ver. 13 with Deut. xxiv. 14-15, ver. 14 with Deut. xxvii. 18, ver. 19 with Deut. xxii. 9-11. The compiler of the code, partly contained in this chapter, must have used material which lay already to his hand. Otherwise, he would scarcely have repeated an enactment of 3 in 30^a. The constant change from singular to plural in the form of address has also been explained by the fact that the compiler was drawing from various sources. It is, however, hard to believe that he passed from source to source as rapidly and constantly as this theory requires us to think. The compiler at all events felt no difficulty in mingling the plural and singular address. Probably the average Jew was not troubled by incoherences of this kind, just as half-educated Englishmen begin a letter in the third person ('A. presents compliments to B.') and pass unconsciously into the use of the first and second.

The marks of phraseology, characteristic of the 'Law of Holiness,' abound in this chapter, as may be easily seen by looking at Driver's list (*Introduction*, p. 45). On the other hand, the hand of P is evident in vv. 21-22, and at the close of ver. 8. Ver. 20 seems out of place where it stands, though there is no reason to doubt that it forms part of the 'Law of Holiness.'

² 'His mother.' Here as in xxi. 2, the name of the mother stands first. The child was first under its mother's care, and a mother's love was regarded (see Isa. xlix. 15) as second in tenderness only to the love of God for his people.

³ According to P on the contrary (Lev. vii. 15-17), it was only in the two

to Yahwè, you shall sacrifice so as to secure favour for yourselves. 6. It shall be eaten on the day of your sacrifice or on the next day, but that which is left on the third day shall be burnt with fire. 7. But if it be eaten at all on the third day, it is corrupt flesh: it shall not be accepted. 8. And he who eats it shall bear his iniquity, for he has profaned the holy thing of Yahwè, *and that soul shall be cut off from his people.*

9. And when you reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not carry thy reaping to the utmost corner, neither shalt thou glean the stray ears of thy harvest. 10. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt gather the fallen fruit of thy vineyard: to the poor and the settler thou shalt leave them: I am Yahwè your God.

11. You shall not steal, or deceive, or lie one to the other. 12. Neither shall you swear by my name falsely, so that thou profane the name of thy God: I am Yahwè. 13. Thou shalt not oppress thy neighbour or rob him: the wages of a hired servant shall not tarry with thee all night till the morning. 14. Thou shalt not curse a deaf man, neither put a stumbling-block before a blind man; but thou shalt be afraid of thy God: I am Yahwè.

15. You shall do no unrighteousness in judgment: thou shalt not be partial to the poor, neither shalt thou pay special regard to the great: in righteousness shalt thou judge thy fellow. 16. Thou shalt not go about as a slanderer among thy countrymen, neither shalt thou set thyself to bring a sentence of death upon thy neighbour: I am Yahwè. 17. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt rebuke thy fellow openly and shalt not incur sin because of him. 18. Thou shalt not revenge thyself or bear a grudge against thy fellow-countrymen, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: I am Yahwè.

less important kinds of peace offering that the flesh might be eaten on the second day. The flesh of the thank offering, which is expressly said by P to have been a species of peace offering, was to be eaten on the day of sacrifice. But see note on xxii. 30.

19. **Ye shall keep my statutes: thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a different kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with two kinds of seed, and a garment of two kinds of stuff, shaatnez shall not be worn by thee.**

20. **And whosoever lies carnally with a woman who is a slave assigned to [another] man, but not [yet] redeemed or set free, punishment shall be inflicted: they shall not be put to death, since she had not been set free.** 21. *But he shall bring his guilt offering to Yahwè to the entrance of the tent of meeting, a ram as a guilt offering.* 22. *And the priest shall make propitiation for him with the ram of the guilt offering before Yahwè on account of his sin which he has committed, that he may be forgiven his sin which he has committed.*

23. **And when you shall go into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food, you shall count the fruit thereof as their foreskin; for three years you shall look on them as uncircumcised; they shall not be eaten.** 24. **But in the fourth year all their fruit shall be hallowed as a thankoffering to Yahwè.** 25. **But in the fifth year you shall eat their fruit, so that they may yield you a greater increase: I am Yahwè your God.**

26. **You shall not eat anything with the blood, or practise divining or soothsaying.** 27. **You shall not shave off the edge of [the hair of] your head in the form of a circle or mutilate the edge of your beard.** 28. **Neither shall you make an incision in your flesh for the dead or print any marks upon you: I am Yahwè.** 29. **Thou shalt not profane thy daughter by making her a harlot, lest the land fall to whoredom and be full of shameful wickedness.**

30. **My sabbaths you shall keep and my sanctuary you shall reverence: I am Yahwè.** 31. **You shall not turn to them that are familiar with ghosts and to wizards: do not make inquiry of them so as to be defiled therewith: I am Yahwè your God.**

32. **Before a hoary head thou shalt rise up, and thou shalt honour the person of an old man, and thou shalt be afraid of thy God: I am Yahwè.** 33. **And when a settler shall make his home**

with thee in your land, you shall not oppress him. 34. As one of yourselves that is native born shall the settler that makes his home with you be to you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for you were settlers in the land of Egypt: I am Yahwè your God. 35. You shall do no unrighteousness in judgment, in measure of length, in weight or in measure of capacity. 36. Just balances, just weighing stones, a just ephah and a just hin shall you have: I am Yahwè your God who brought you forth from the land of Egypt, 37. And you shall observe all my statutes and judgments to do them: I am Yahwè.

PENAL LAWS ESPECIALLY AGAINST SINS OF UNCHASTITY.¹

XX. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. And thou shalt*

¹ 'Laws especially against unchastity,' ch. xx. The chapter as a whole belongs to the 'Law of Holiness.' Bäntsch would exclude vv. 25, 26, assigning them to P. No doubt, these verses refer to some such law as that on clean and unclean animals in Lev. xi. But admittedly the 'Law of Holiness' did contain instructions on this matter which are partially preserved in ch. xi., and it does not seem certain, as Bäntsch assumes it to be, either that xi. 47 is presupposed here in vv. 25, 26 or that xi. 47 may not itself be a fragment from the 'Law of Holiness.'

But the hortatory additions must be distinguished from older laws which form the kernel of the chapter. The clearest example of these additions is to be found in the conclusion, or that which would naturally form the conclusion, vv. 22-24 (or 22-26). But vv. 3-5 also are distinct from the older code which the editor of the 'Law of Holiness' made use of. The punishment for offering children to Molech has been already given in ver. 2: the criminal is to be stoned. There is no purpose therefore in the sequel, 'And I shall set my face,' etc. The fact that the divine threat is directed against the offender and not against the people in general, as well as the phraseology ('I will set my face,' 'I will cut him off from the midst of his people'), point perhaps to the same hand which has edited ch. xvii. Vv. 7 and 8 are also merely general exhortations.

The laws themselves might be at first sight regarded as an appendage to ch. xviii. There we have the laws against unchastity: here the penalties for transgression of these laws. This, however, cannot have been the original intention of the laws given here. For the writer without reference to anything that has gone before forbids the acts at length and does not content himself with stating the penalties. Moreover the order of cases in the two chapters is different, and of the cases given in ch. xviii. four (*viz.* those in xviii. 7, 10, 17^b, 18) are passed over here.

The style and matter of the laws deserve attention. Ver. 2 prohibits the

say to the children of Israel, Any one of the children of Israel or of the settlers that settle in Israel, who gives any of his children to Molech, shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones. 3. And I will set my face against that man and will cut him off from the midst of his people, because he has given of his seed to Molech, so as to defile my sanctuary and profane my holy name. 4. But if the people of the land do in any way hide their eyes from that man, when he gives of his seed to Molech, so that they do not put him to death, 5. I will set my face against that man and against his clan, and will cut him off and all that go a-whoring after him, to go a-whoring after Molech, from the midst of their people. 6. And as for the person that shall turn to those that are familiar with ghosts and to wizards, so as to go a-whoring after them, I will set my face against that person and cut him off from the midst of his people. 7. And you shall show yourselves holy and be holy, for I am Yahwè your God. 8. And you shall keep my statutes and do them; I am Yahwè who sanctifies you. 9. For every one that curses his father or his mother shall surely be put to death; he has cursed his father or his mother; guilt that requires his blood rests on him. 10. And a man who commits adultery¹ with his neighbour's wife shall surely be put to death,

sacrifice of children to Molech under definite penalty. It begins with the form *אִישׁ אִישׁ*, i.e. 'whosoever,' a mode of expression which with various amplifications occurs frequently in the 'Law of Holiness.' Next in ver. 6 we have the prohibition of consulting wizards, etc. But here the law begins with the words, 'The person who' (*הַנֶּפֶשׁ*, comp. xvii. 10^b), and instead of a definite penalty we have the general threat, 'I will set my face,' etc., which again reminds us of ch. xvii. On the other hand, we have in ver. 27 a statute on a cognate subject, viz., against wizards, which keeps close to the style of ver. 2 and like it imposes a definite penalty, but which now stands out of all connection at the end of the chapter. Probably ver. 27 originally stood in the place now occupied by ver. 6. Then in 10-21 we have no less than eleven short laws all beginning with 'the man (or woman) who,' and all directed against unchastity. The only interruption is in ver. 19 when the form is quite different, viz., 'Thou shalt not,' as in ch. xvii. Clearly the verse is an abbreviation of vv. 12, 13 in that chapter with the penalty added to suit its position here.

¹ 'The man who commits adultery.' These words have been repeated by clerical error in the Massoretic text. So Driver, following Abbott.

the adulterer with the adulteress. 11. And the man who lies with his father's wife, has uncovered the nakedness of his father; they shall both be put to death; guilt that requires their blood rests on them. 12. And if a man lie with his daughter-in-law, they shall both be put to death; they have done a shameful thing; guilt that requires their blood rests on them. 13. And if a man lies with a male as with a woman, they have done an abominable thing; they shall surely be put to death: guilt that requires their blood is in them. 14. And if a man take a woman and her mother, it is lewdness; with fire shall they burn him and them, so that there be no more lewdness in your midst. 15. And a man who has carnal intercourse with a beast shall be put to death: and you shall kill the beast. 16. And if a woman approach any beast to lie therewith, you shall kill the woman and the beast, they shall surely be put to death: guilt that requires their blood is in them. 17. And if a man take his sister, the daughter of his father or the daughter of his mother, and see her nakedness, while she sees his nakedness, this is shameful lust; and they shall be cut off before the eyes of the children of their people: he has uncovered his sister's nakedness: he shall bear his iniquity. 18. And if a man lie with a woman having her [monthly] sickness and shall uncover her nakedness, he has laid bare her fountain, while she has uncovered the fountain of her blood; both of them shall be cut off from the midst of their people. 19. Neither shalt thou uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister or thy father's sister, for [he who does so] has uncovered one that is near of kin to him: they shall bear their iniquity. 20. And if a man lie with his uncle's wife, he has uncovered the nakedness of his uncle; they shall bear their sin; they shall die childless. 21. And if a man take his brother's wife,¹ it is impurity: he has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless.

¹ 'Take his brother's wife,' etc. According to Deut. xxv. 5 *seq.*, a man was bound to marry the widow of a brother who died without male issue. Dillm. supposes that here and in Lev. xviii. 16 we have the general rule, while

22. And you shall observe all my statutes and judgments and shall do them, that the land whereto I am bringing you to dwell therein may not vomit you out. 23. Nor shall you walk in the statutes of the nations¹ which I am casting out before you, for all these things they did, so that I loathed them. 24. Then I said to you, You shall possess their ground, and I will give it you that you may possess it, a land flowing with milk and honey: I am Yahwè your God who have parted you from the nations. 25. Therefore, you shall make partition between quadrupeds that are clean and unclean, and part unclean birds from the clean, nor shall you make yourselves abominable with beast or bird or anything that creeps on the ground, which I have set apart so that you are to count it unclean. 26. And you shall be holy to me, for I, Yahwè, am holy, and have parted you from the nations that you may be mine.

27. And if there be in man or woman a spirit of the dead or of witchcraft, they shall be put to death: they shall be stoned with stones: guilt that requires their blood is in them.

RULES FOR THE PRIESTS.²

XXI. 1. *And Yahwè said to Moses, Say to the priests the sons*

Deut. provides for an exceptional case, and Driver (on Deuteronomy) thinks this explanation possible. It seems, however, to be very unnatural, considering that the legislator in Deuteronomy makes no reference to the general rule, while the Levitical code makes no reference to the exception. We may therefore be almost certain that the 'Law of Holiness' intended to abolish an ancient custom which in Deuteronomy is still permitted and in one case enjoined. It was easier, as Nowack points out, to dispense after or during the exile with the institution which provided for the case of a man who died without sons, because the right of daughters to inherit was beginning to be allowed. At all events, somewhat later this right was formally recognised (Num. xxvii. 1 *seq.*) and regulated (Num. xxxvi.).

¹ 'Nations.' The plural form is attested by LXX., Syr. and Targ. of Onk., and is decidedly preferable to the Massoretic reading 'nation.'

² 'Rules for the priests.' The most interesting point in this chapter is the position of the chief priest. The older literature knows nothing of a high priest invested with the supreme and almost royal prerogatives attributed to him in the Priestly Code. It recognises a chief functionary at the temple, but

of Aaron and thou shalt say to them: He [i.e. a priest] shall not defile himself for a corpse among his countrymen, 2. except for his kin that is near to him, for his mother and father, for his son and daughter and his brother, 3. and for his sister who, as a virgin, is close to him, not having been given to a husband; for her he shall defile himself. 4. He shall not defile himself¹ . . . among his countrymen so as to render himself profane. 5. They shall not make a bald place on their heads nor shave off the side of their beard or make an incision in their flesh. 6.

he is not invested with a sanctity different in kind from that of other priests. Even Ezekiel makes no mention of a high priest. After the exile the high priest appears in Hag. i. 1, Zech. iii. 3. The 'Law of Holiness' stands midway between the older literature and the 'Priestly Code.' It requires greater sanctity from the chief priest with respect to marriage and to mourning for the dead. But whereas P speaks of Aaron as the high priest and of the ordinary priests as his sons, here the chief priest stands over against his subordinates as an elder brother.

The chapter as a whole belongs to the 'Law of Holiness' and exhibits the characteristic motive of that law, viz., the enforcement of holiness. The curious interchange of singular and plural (thus in vv. 1-4 'he, i.e. any priest) shall not,' in 5-6, 'they shall not,' etc., in 7 singular and plural forms are combined, while 8-9 revert to the singular form) is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the compiler borrowed from different sources. But various interpolations have been made in the spirit of P. The inscription, 'Say to the priests,' is inconsistent with the laws which follow. They are expressed in the third person and the priests are not addressed. Consequently the last verse, 'And Moses spoke to Aaron and his sons,' etc., must also be a later addition. In ver. 6 'the fire offerings of Yahwè,' a phrase usual in P, has been added as an explanatory gloss to 'the bread of their God,' which is the language of the 'Law of Holiness.' So in ver. 10 the words 'on whose . . . vestments' and in ver. 12 'for the crown . . . upon him,' in vv. 16, 17 the mention of Aaron and the suffix 'thy seed' instead of 'your seed,' the first clause of ver. 23 are additions or changes in the language of P to bring the 'Law of Holiness' into line with later views on the pre-eminence of the High Priest. Here observe that in 24, which we know on other grounds to be interpolated, we have the same change of view and language, the priests are the sons, not the brethren, of the High Priest, and this High Priest is called Aaron. In ver. 21 the words 'from the seed of Aaron the priest' and in ver. 22 the words 'both the most holy and the holy' are glosses. With regard to the latter the next chapter shows that the 'Law of Holiness' does not recognise this distinction. The reader will see that all these interpolations may be removed without injury to the grammar.

¹ 'He shall not defile himself.' The next word is unintelligible.

Holy shall they be to their God and they shall not profane the name of their God, for it is they who present *the fire offerings of Yahwè*, the bread of their God: therefore they shall be holy.

7. They shall not take a woman that is an harlot or that has been debauched, nor shall they take a woman that has been divorced by her husband, for he [*i.e.* the priest] is holy to his God. 8. And thou shalt count him holy, since it is he who presents the bread of thy God: holy shall he be for thee, since I am holy, Yahwè who sanctifies you. 9. And if the daughter of any priest profane herself by playing the harlot, it is her father that she profanes: she shall be burned with fire.

10. But the priest that is chief among his brethren, *on whose head the oil of anointing has been poured and whose hand they have filled so that he has put on the vestments*, shall not let the hair of his head go loose or rend his garments. 11. Neither shall he go in to any corpse: even for his father or his mother he shall not defile himself. 12. Neither shall he go forth from the sanctuary or profane the sanctuary of his God, *for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him: I am Yahwè*. 13. And he shall marry a wife in her virginity. 14. A widow or a divorced woman or one that has been debauched or¹ a harlot he shall not marry, but he shall take as wife a virgin from among the people of his race. 15. So shall he not profane his family among his countrymen, for I am Yahwè who sanctifies him.

16. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying*, 17. *Speak to Aaron, saying*, Whosoever he be of thy seed throughout their generations that has a blemish, he shall not approach to offer the bread of his God. 18. For no man that has a blemish shall approach, a man that is blind or lame or mutilated in the face or that has a limb too long, 19. or that is brokenfooted or brokenhanded, 20. or crookedbacked or abnormally lean or has white spots in his eyes or is scurvy or scabbed or has broken testicles.

¹ 'Or.' The word is almost necessary to the sense, and is found in Sam., LXX., and Vulg.

21. Any man that has a blemish in him of the seed of Aaron the priest shall not approach to offer the fire offerings of Yahwè: there is a blemish in him: he shall not approach to offer the bread of his God. 22. The bread of his God, *whether most holy or holy*, he shall eat. 23. Only he shall not go to the veil nor shall he draw near to the altar, since there is a blemish in him, that he may not profane my sanctuaries: I am Yahwè who sanctifies them. 24. And Moses spoke to Aaron and his sons and to all the children of Israel.

RULES ON THE CONSUMPTION OF THE HOLY GIFTS.¹

XXII. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to Aaron and his sons that they may be circumspect with regard to the holy gifts of the children of Israel, profaning not my holy name, *which* [gifts] *they consecrate for me*: I am Yahwè. 3. Say to them, Throughout your generations every man of all your seed who approaches the holy things which the children of Israel consecrate to Yahwè with his uncleanness on him,—that person shall be cut off from before me: I am Yahwè. 4. What man soever of the seed of Aaron that is a leper or has an issue, shall not eat of the holy things, till he is clean, and he that touches one contaminated by a corpse or any one from whom there has been an emission of seed, 5. or any one who touches

¹ 'Rules on the consumption of holy gifts,' xxii. 1-16. The few insertions in the style of P may be easily recognised on principles given in previous notes. The rest is clearly not from P, but from the 'Law of Holiness.' We have the marks of style characteristic of this little code, 'bread of God,' 'I am Yahwè,' etc. But the chief point to notice is, that whereas P in Num. xviii. carefully distinguishes between 'most holy' gifts, which could be eaten only by priests, and by them only near the altar, and 'holy' gifts, which might be eaten by all members of the priest's household, no such distinction is hinted at here. Further, here a fine only is imposed for misappropriation of holy things, whereas P would certainly have required a guilt offering besides. Comp. Lev. v. 15, 16. The kernel of original legislation is to be found in vv. 3-7 10-14. The framework, which is due to the compiler of the 'Law of Holiness,' is distinguished by the frequent substitution of plural for singular ('they shall,' etc., for 'he shall,' etc.) and by the familiar hortatory phrases: 'I am Yahwè,' you shall 'not profane my holy name,' etc., etc.

any creeping thing by which he may be defiled or a man by whom he may be defiled through his uncleanness, whatever it may be, 6. the person who touches such, shall be unclean till the evening, and shall not eat of the holy things unless he wash his body in water. 7. When the sun goes down, he is clean and afterwards he may eat of the holy things, for it is his bread. 8. He shall not eat that which dies of itself¹ or is torn [by wild beasts] to be defiled therewith: I am Yahwè. 9. And they shall keep my ordinance and shall not bring sin on themselves because of it, so as to die thereby, since they profane it. I am Yahwè who sanctifies them. 10. But no stranger shall eat that which is holy; one that sojourns with the priest or a hired servant shall not eat that which is holy. 11. But if the priest buy a person for money, he shall eat thereof, and they that are born in his house shall eat of his bread. 12. And when the daughter of a priest is married to a stranger, she shall not eat of the portion taken from the holy things. 13. But when a priest's daughter becomes a widow or is divorced, without having any family, and shall return to her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread, but no stranger shall eat thereof. 14. But if a man eat of that which is holy by mistake, he shall add a fifth [of the value] thereto and give it to the priest with [the value of] the holy thing. 15. So they shall not profane the holy things of the children of Israel, that which they take up [as a portion] for Yahwè, 16. nor cause them to bear the penalty of guilt by eating their holy things: I am Yahwè who sanctifies them.

THE QUALITY OF VICTIMS SACRIFICED.²

17. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 18. *Speak to Aaron*

¹ 'That which dies of itself.' The same rule is laid down for priests, Ezek. xlv. 31.

² 'The quality of the victims.' Observe the significant absence of all allusion to sin or guilt offerings, which are the most important and prominent kinds of sacrifice in P, and the recurrence of the habitual phrases in the hortatory conclusion, 31-33.

and his sons and to all the children of Israel and say to them, Whosoever he be of the house of Israel or of the settlers in Israel that presents his oblation, any offering by vow or of free will which they present to Yahwè as a burnt offering,¹ 19. [you shall offer] so that you may be acceptable, a male without blemish of the cattle or lambs or goats. 20. You shall offer nothing that has a blemish in it, since that will not secure acceptance for you. 21. But whosoever offers a sacrifice of peace offerings to Yahwè setting apart a victim promised by vow or given of free will from flock or herd, without blemish shall it be to secure acceptance: no blemish shall be in it. 22. That which is blind or broken or mutilated or festered or scurvy or scabbed—you shall not present these to Yahwè nor shall you put them as a fire offering on the altar for Yahwè. 23. And as for an ox or head of small cattle that has a limb too long or too short, thou mayest make of it a free will offering, but it will not be accepted for a vow. 24. Also that which has its testicles crushed or bruised or torn out or cut, you shall not present to Yahwè, neither shall you make [such animals] in your land. 25. Nor shall you [get] any such from a foreigner [and] offer therefrom the bread of your God, because they are faulty; there is a blemish in them: they will not be accepted on your behalf.

26. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 27. When a bullock or sheep or goat is born, it shall be seven days under its mother, but from the eighth day² and onwards it shall be accepted as

¹ 'By vow or free will . . . as a burnt offering.' Ezekiel also (xli. 12) recognises freewill offerings as a subdivision both of the burnt offering and the peace offering.

² 'From the eighth day,' etc. This law closely resembles that regarding the first born of beasts in Exod. xxii. 29. They are to remain eight days with their mother and then must (not 'may') be sacrificed to Yahwè. In Deut. xv. 19 *seq.* no special age is required for victims in general or the first-born of cattle in particular; and plainly the abolition of local sanctuaries and the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem must have made the rule in the 'Book of the Covenant' impossible. In P (Num. xviii.) the firstlings belong absolutely to the priest, except that he has to put their blood and fat on the

an oblation by fire to Yahwè. 28. And whether it be cow or ewe you shall not kill it and its young on one day. 29. And when you sacrifice a victim of thanksgiving to Yahwè, you shall sacrifice it so as to secure your acceptance. 30. On that same day it shall be eaten:¹ you shall leave none of it till the morrow: I am Yahwè.

31. So you shall keep my commandments and do them: I am Yahwè. 32. And you shall not profane my holy name, that I may be sanctified in the midst of the children of Israel: I am Yahwè that sanctifies you, 33. who brought you forth from the land of Egypt that I might be a God to you: I am Yahwè.

altar. It cannot be determined for certain whether the 'Law of Holiness' here includes firstlings under the general rule for sacrifice and simply ordains that they are not to be offered before the eighth day. It gives no hint that any class of young animals belonged of right to the priests. Bäntsch thinks it remarkable that, recognising as he does one central sanctuary, the lawgiver here should speak of eight days of age as a possible time for bringing animals to the altar. How could animals so young be brought from the extremities of Judah to Jerusalem? His explanation is that the lawgiver contemplated a small population of returned exiles living in Jerusalem or the immediate neighbourhood. But in reality there is no need for any explanation. There would always be some Jews living near the temple, and with his eye on them the legislator fixes the lowest permissible age.

¹ 'On that same day it' (the *todāh* or sacrifice of thanksgiving) 'shall be eaten.' P in Lev. vii. 15 contradicts the 'Law of Holiness' (xix. 5 *seq.*). The 'Law of Holiness' permits peace offerings in general to be eaten on the day of offering or on the day following. P on the contrary in Lev. vii. 15 divides peace offerings into three classes, sacrifices by vow, free-will offerings, and sacrifices of thanksgiving, and requires the third class to be eaten on the day of oblation. But neither here nor elsewhere in the 'Law of Holiness' is the *todāh* said to be a species of peace offering. The appearance of inconsistency vanishes when the law is interpreted by itself and not by another and later law. We have here also another illustration of the way in which the 'Law of Holiness' stands midway between Deut. and P. In Deut. xii. 6 *seq.* there is no classification of peace offerings. Sacrifices by vows and free-will offerings are mentioned, but they are not placed in any general class, at least not expressly. In the 'Law of Holiness' vows and free-will offerings are classified under the general head of peace offering: *todōth* or sacrifices of thanksgiving still stand by themselves. In P the threefold subdivision of peace offering is complete.

THE FESTAL CALENDAR.¹

XXIII. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, As for the sacred seasons which you shall proclaim as holy convocations, my sacred seasons are the following. 3. For six days shall work be done, but the seventh day is a solemn sabbath, a holy convocation: no manner of work shall you do: it is a sabbath for Yahwè in all your dwellings. 4. The following are Yahwè's sacred seasons, holy convocations which you shall proclaim each in its season. 5. In the first month on the fourteenth day of the month towards evening is a passover for Yahwè. 6. And on the fifteenth day of this*

¹ 'The Festal Calendar.' This title describes the purpose of the chapter in the superscription and the last verse. The writer intends to give a list of sacred seasons or, to be more definite, of 'holy convocations.' His object is to fix the date and duration of these solemnities. It is no part of his work to give rules for the kind of sacrifices to be offered or the other details of ritual. His chief concern is not with the ritual but with the date of the feasts. The language is that of P, and the chapter forms an integral part of the Priestly Code.

But in 9-22, 39-43, the character of the legislation is very different. It does not confine itself to the time of the feasts or even make that the chief point. It prescribes the manner of the celebration. But it is much more important to notice that in these sections the feasts have no fixed dates on certain days of the month, but are regulated by the state of the harvest. As in Deuteronomy, the agricultural character of the three feasts is retained. First comes the feast of harvest, with the offering of a sheaf and of a lamb as burnt offering. Seven weeks later, reckoning from the first Sabbath in the harvest, we have the feast of weeks with its oblation of two loaves made from the corn of the harvest just completed and two lambs as peace offerings. Last comes the feast of tabernacles at the ingathering of the fruit, though here there is also a historical reference. The character of the feasts closely resembles that which they bear in Deuteronomy, with the marked difference that there are certain prescribed sacrifices to be offered, not by the free will of individuals, but in the name of the community. Consequently we stand midway between Deut. and P. All this would lead us to expect that the sections in question belong to the 'Law of Holiness.' But the expectation becomes a moral certainty when we examine the language employed. Thus we have the phrase so characteristic of the 'Law of Holiness,' 'I am Yahwè your God,' at the end of vv. 22 and 43. Comp. also 'When you shall come into the land which I am giving you' with Lev. xx. 24, xviii. 3, xix. 23, and

month is the feast of unleavened bread for Yahwè : for seven days shall you eat unleavened bread. 7. On the first day there shall be for you a holy convocation : you shall do no kind of servile work. 8. And you shall bring a fire offering to Yahwè for seven days : on the seventh day is a holy convocation : you shall not do any kind of servile work.

9. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 10. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, When you shall come into the land which I am giving you and reap your harvest, you shall bring the sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest to the priest, 11. and he shall wave the sheaf before Yahwè to secure acceptance for you : on the day after the sabbath shall the priest wave it. 12. And you shall offer on the

the phrase 'Brought them forth from the land of Egypt' with xxii. 33, xix. 36. Moreover the clause at the beginning of the former section (ver. 10), viz., 'On the day after the Sabbath,' implies a preceding passage different from that which now stands before it and which is from P. In the original context there must have been something to indicate the Sabbath meant.

But even the sections which belong to the 'Law of Holiness' have been interpolated and expanded in the style and spirit of P. The whole of vv. 13 and 14 has been added. Notice the Hebrew for 'this self-same day,' which occurs in P throughout and nowhere else in the Hexateuch, and compare ver. 14 with Lev. ii. 14 ; also in ver. 13 'fine meal prepared with oil' with Lev. ii. 1 and 4, and for 'the fourth of a hin of wine,' Num. xv. 5. The 'Law of Holiness' simply mentioned the sheaf and the lamb to which a later editor felt bound to add the appropriate meal offering and libation from P. Ver. 21 is shown both by language and thought to be from P. It is just as plain that ver. 22 is a stray verse from the 'Law of Holiness,' which has no proper connection with the context, and seems to belong to xix. 9. In vv. 18, 19, the only words which belong to the 'Law of Holiness' are 'you shall offer besides the bread two lambs of a year old as a sacrifice of peace offering.' All the rest is an inaccurate gloss from Num. xxviii. 27. The mention of sin offering is proof enough that it does not belong to the 'Law of Holiness.' Owing to the insertion of this gloss the sense of 'them' ('the priest shall wave them,' viz., the two lambs) became obscure, and hence the addition of the ungrammatical words 'besides two lambs' in ver. 20.

Similar additions have been made in 39-43. Such is the fixed date at the beginning of ver. 39, which contradicts the words which follow and imply that the feast is moveable. So with the concluding words of the verse which prolong the feast of tabernacles to eight days, whereas the 'Law of Holiness' like Deut. only recognises seven (see the same verse). Finally the fixed date in 41^b is by a later hand.

day that you wave the sheaf, a he-lamb without blemish of a year old as a burnt offering to Yahwè, 13. and as its meal offering two tenths [of an ephah] of fine meal prepared with oil, as a fire offering to Yahwè, an odour of sweetness, and its libation of wine the fourth part of a hin ; 14. and bread and roasted or fresh grains you shall not eat till this selfsame day, until you bring the oblation of your God—a perpetual statute for your generations in all your dwellings.

15. And you shall count for yourselves from the day after the sabbath, from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering ; seven complete weeks shall there be. 16. To the day after the seventh sabbath you shall count fifty days and you shall offer a meal offering of the new grain to Yahwè. 17. From your dwellings shall you bring two loaves for waving : two tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour shall they be ; they shall be baked with leaven, as first fruits for Yahwè. 18. And you shall offer besides the bread seven unblemished lambs of one year old and one bullock one year old and two rams : they shall be burnt offerings to Yahwè with their meal offering and libation, a fire offering of sweet savour to Yahwè. 19. And you shall offer one he-goat for a sin-offering and two lambs a year old as a sacrifice of peace offering, 20. and the priest shall wave them besides the bread of first fruits as a wave offering before Yahwè, besides two lambs : they shall be consecrated to Yahwè for the benefit of the priest. 21. And you shall make proclamation on this same day : it shall be a holy convocation for you : you shall do no kind of servile work,—a perpetual statute in all your dwellings throughout your generations. 22. And when you reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not finish the edge of thy field when thou reapest, and shalt not gather the stray ears of thy harvest : to the poor and the settler shalt thou leave them : I am Yahwè your God.

23. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 24. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, In the seventh month, on the first of the month, you shall keep a solemn rest with trumpet blasts

in memorial, with holy convocation. 25. No kind of servile work shall you do, and you shall present a fire offering to Yahwè.

26. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 27. Howbeit on the tenth of this seventh month is the day of atonement: a holy convocation shall it be for you, and you shall afflict yourselves and shall present an offering by fire to Yahwè. 28. And you shall do no manner of work on that same day, for it is a day of atonement to make propitiation for you before Yahwè your God. 29. For whatever person is not afflicted on that same day, shall be cut off from the men of his people. 30. And as for any person that shall do any manner of work on that same day, I will destroy that person from the midst of his people. 31. No manner of work shall you do—a perpetual statute throughout your generations in all your dwellings. 32. A day of utter rest shall it be for you, and you shall afflict yourselves on the ninth of the month in the evening; from evening to evening shall you keep your day of rest.

33. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 34. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, On the fifteenth day of this seventh month is the feast of tabernacles for seven days to Yahwè. 35. On the first day is a holy convocation: you shall do no kind of servile work. 36. Seven days you shall present a fire offering to Yahwè: on the eighth day you shall hold a holy convocation and shall present a fire offering to Yahwè: it is a solemn assembly; you shall do no manner of servile work.

37. These are Yahwè's sacred seasons which you shall proclaim as holy convocations for presenting a fire offering to Yahwè, burnt offering and meal offering, sacrifice and libations, each on its own day, 38. besides Yahwè's sabbaths and your gifts and all your offerings by vow and free-will offerings which you shall give to Yahwè.

39. Howbeit on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when you gather the produce of the land, you shall keep Yahwè's feast seven days: on the first day there is to be rest and

on the eighth day rest. 40. And on the first day you shall take goodly fruit from the tree, palm branches and boughs of trees with thick foliage and willows of the brook and shall rejoice before Yahwè your God seven days. 41. And you shall keep it as a feast to Yahwè seven days in the year,—a perpetual statute throughout your generations: in the seventh month shall you celebrate it. 42. You shall dwell in booths seven days: all that are natives in Israel shall dwell in booths, 43. that your generations may know that I caused the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them forth from the land of Egypt: I am Yahwè your God.

44. So Moses declared to the children of Israel the sacred seasons of Yahwè.

THE HOLY LIGHT AND THE SHEWBREAD.

XXIV.¹ 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Command the children of Israel, that they take for thee pure olive oil from crushed olives for the light, to set up a lamp continually. 3. Outside of the veil before the [ark with the] testimony in the tent of meeting shall Aaron set it in order from evening to morning before Yahwè continually—a perpetual statute throughout your generations. 4. On the candlestick of pure gold shall he set the lamps in order before Yahwè continually.

¹ Ch. xxiv. In this chapter, the 'Law of Holiness' has been all but wholly displaced by P. The law on the holy light (1-4) is repeated with little change from Exod. xxvii. 20 *seq.*, except that ver. 4 has been added, the writer perhaps having Num. viii. 1 *seq.* in mind. The law on the shewbread (5-9) is conceived in the language of P throughout. For the technical word *Azkara*, translated here 'fragrant offering,' comp. Lev. ii. 9, etc., and for 'perpetual covenant,' Gen. xvii. 9, 10, 13. In 10-14, 23, we have a law in the form of a story. Here, too, the language is beyond all possibility of mistake that of P, and it is to the later strata of P that these illustrative cases belong. Comp. Lev. x. 1-5, 16-20, Num. xv. 32-36, xxxvi.

But just as clearly the brief laws in 15-22 come from the 'Law of Holiness,' They are especially akin to the laws in xviii.-xx. Comp. *אִישׁ אִישׁ כִּי* in ver. 15 with xviii. 6, xx. 2, 'bear his sin' in ver. 15 with xx. 20, 'shall surely be put to death' in 16, 17, 21 with ch. xx. *passim*. There are one or two insertions by an editor of the school of P such as 'all the congregation' (*עֵדָה*) in ver. 16.

5. *Also thou shalt take fine flour and shalt bake it into twelve cakes: two tenths [of an ephah] shall each cake be.* 6. *And thou shalt place them in rows of six each on the table of pure [gold] before Yahwè.* 7. *And thou shalt place on each row pure frankincense that it may serve as a fragrant offering [?] for the bread, as a fire offering for Yahwè.* 8. *Every sabbath he shall set it in order before Yahwè continually from the children of Israel in virtue of a perpetual covenant.* 9. *And it shall belong to Aaron and his sons, and they shall eat it in a holy place: it is for him something most holy from the fire offerings of Yahwè—a perpetual statute.*

LAWS ON BLASPHEMY, MURDER, INJURY.

10. *Now the son of an Israelitish woman, but he was the son of an Egyptian man, went out among the children of Israel, and the son of the Israelitish woman and an Israelite strove with each other in the camp.* 11. *And the son of the Israelitish woman cursed Yahwè¹ and blasphemed, and they brought him to Moses: now the name of his mother was Shelomith the daughter of Dibri of the tribe of Dan.* 12. *So they put him in ward, till a decision reached them by an oracle of Yahwè.* 13. *And Yahwè spoke with Moses, saying,* 14. *Bring forth the blasphemer without the camp, and let all that heard lay their hands on his head, and let all the congregation stone him.* 15. *But to the children of Israel thou shalt speak, saying, Whosoever blasphemeth his God shall bear his sin.* 16. *And he that curses the name of Yahwè shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall certainly stone him: native and settler alike shall be put to death on cursing the name of Yahwè.* 17. *And he that smites any man mortally, shall surely be put to death.* 18. *And he that smites a*

¹ 'Yahwè.' The existing text has 'the name.' But the use of the word 'name,' as a substitute for the personal name of God, belongs to the Mishnic and rabbinical usage, and is post-biblical. The change was made here by a scribe who did not like to put the name of Yahwè after such a word as 'blaspheme.'

beast mortally, shall make it good—life for life. 19. And if any man cause disfigurement in his neighbour, as he did, so shall it be done to him. 20. Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he caused disfigurement in a man, so shall it be done to him. 21. And he that smites a beast, shall make it good: and he that smites a man, shall be put to death. 22. One rule shall you have: the native shall fare like the settler, for I am Yahwè your God. 23. Therefore Moses spoke to the children of Israel, and they brought forth the blasphemer outside the camp and stoned him with stones, and the children of Israel did as Yahwè commanded Moses.

SABBATH YEAR AND JUBILEE.¹

XXV. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses in mount Sinai, saying,*

¹ 'Sabbath year and jubilee.' Verses 2b-7 are concerned with the sabbatical year. Here, clearly and by general admission, we have a fragment of the 'Law of Holiness.' The law is founded on a similar one in the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxiii. 10, 11. But there, apparently, the legislator only requires each particular field to be left fallow every seven years, so that the year of rest would be different for different fields. Here the law requires something much harder, *viz.*, that every seventh year all the land of Israel should lie fallow simultaneously. This institution is in perfect harmony with the spirit in which the 'Law of Holiness' treats the feasts. The point of view is agricultural, just as in ch. xxiii. In these verses there is no trace of P's language except in the Hebrew expression translated 'utter rest' in ver. 4, and this has probably been added by the later hand of an editor. The phrase, 'Sabbath for Yahwè,' originally may have stood by itself here as in ver. 2. On the other hand, notice the word for 'female slave' (אִמָּה not שִׁפְחָה as in P) and the phrase 'when you come into the land which I am giving you,' as in xxiii. 10. But the hortatory style is of itself proof that this section does not come from P.

The rest of the chapter deals chiefly (not in 19-22) with the jubilee year, and duties arising out of it. Is the jubilee recognised in the 'Law of Holiness'? Wellhausen is inclined to answer 'No,' and certainly there are strong reasons for his view. The sabbatical year is recognised elsewhere in the literature of the O. T. (Deut. xv., Jer. xxxiv., Ezek. xlvi. 17., Neh. x. 32), but the year of jubilee nowhere out of P. It is also an important fact that whereas the Book of the Covenant and Deut. make much of the seventh year, P ignores it completely. And this is not accidental but natural. The year of jubilee gathers up into itself separate and independent rules made for the seventh

2. *Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, When you come into the land which I am giving you, then shall the land keep a sabbath to Yahwè.* 3. Six years shalt thou sow thy field and six years shalt thou prune thy vineyard and shalt gather its produce. 4. But in the seventh year the land shall have utter rest, a sabbath for Yahwè; thou shalt not sow thy seed or prune thy vineyard. 5. The aftergrowth of thy harvest and the grapes of thy undressed vine thou shalt not gather: a year of utter rest shall it be for the land. 6. The rest of the land shall yield food for thee and for thy male and female slave and for thy hired servant and for thy strangers that are settled with thee: 7. also for thy cattle and for the wild beast that is in thy land shall all its produce serve as food.

8. Also thou shalt count for thyself seven sabbaths of

year. Thus, according to Deut., debts were to be remitted in the seventh year, and slaves freed on the seventh year of their service. On the same year, according to the 'Law of Holiness,' the whole land was to lie fallow. The jubilee year in P unites the requirements of both legislations, but lightens the double observance by imposing it every fiftieth and not every seventh year. Add that the same legislator would hardly institute a jubilee as described in this chapter, and also still maintain a sabbatical year. For the forty-ninth year would always be sabbatical, and we can scarcely believe that any legislator would desire the whole land to be left fallow in two successive years. Finally, in the chapter of blessings and curses with which the 'Law of Holiness' ends (ch. xxvi.) there is pointed reference to the sabbatical year, but none at all to the year of jubilee. We cannot wonder then that Wellh. regards the jubilee as no part of the 'Law of Holiness.'

Nor is it, in its full and developed form. Nevertheless, the linguistic phenomena justify us in refusing to separate all the passages in this chapter which mention the jubilee from the little code to which xvii.—xxvi. in the main belong. The linguistic marks of the 'Law of Holiness,' as Bāntsch justly remarks, are found throughout the whole chapter. He compares, 'You shall do no wrong (אל תונו) to each other,' in vv. 14, 17, with xix. 33; 'I am Yahwè your God,' in vv. 17, 38, 55, with the Law of Holiness, *passim*: 'Thou shalt be afraid of thy God,' vv. 17, 36, 43, with xix. 14; 'Do my statutes, and keep my judgments,' in ver. 18, with xviii. 4, 5, 26, xix. 19, 37, xx. 22. The word for 'kindred' in ver. 49, for 'neighbour' in 14, 15, 17, and for 'female slave' (see above) in 44 are all recognised marks of the 'Law of Holiness.' Moreover, to suppose that P imitated the style of the older code is so destitute of all analogy as to be simply incredible.

Nevertheless notable interpolations have been made, and such as are in the

years, seven times seven years, so that the seven sabbaths of years shall amount to forty-nine years. 9. *Then thou shalt make the trumpet sound with a loud blast in the seventh month on the tenth of the month: on the day of atonement shall you make the trumpet sound throughout all your land.* 10. *And you shall hallow the fiftieth year and shall proclaim release in the land for all its inhabitants: a jubilee shall it be for you: and you shall return each to his possession and you shall return each of you to his clan.* 11. *A jubilee shall the fiftieth year be for you: you shall not sow or reap its after growth or gather fruit from the undressed vines.* 12. *For it is a jubilee; it shall be holy for you: from the field shall you eat that which it bears.*

13. *In this year of jubilee you shall return every man to his*

style of P. Ver. 9 interrupts the context, and the latter half refers to the Day of Atonement, which first appears in a later stratum of P. So do 11, 12, 13, and the last verse is simply a repetition of ver. 10. In vv. 29-34 the Levites who have never been mentioned before are suddenly introduced, and the existence of their cities and pastures is assumed. Now it is just here that, as Driver points out, the marks of the 'Law of Holiness' are least prominent. These excisions being made, the jubilee remains as part of the 'Law of Holiness.' But it is no longer an agrarian jubilee. We have parted with all reference to the rule that the land is to lie fallow. The year sets slaves free and restores men to the property they have sold. It is a later interpolator who has transferred rules meant for the seventh to the fiftieth year. Further, we are rid of the difficulty of supposing that the solemn penance on the Day of Atonement was disturbed by the incongruous proclamation of the jubilee. Lastly, the year of jubilee is a late addition to the 'Law of Holiness.' This follows partly from the significant absence of allusion to it in xxvi., partly from the fact that in 35-38, which has served as the foundation for the law of jubilee, still the jubilee is not mentioned. Again, in 39-42 we have two elements in the legislation: one, and that manifestly the older, enjoins generous treatment of a Hebrew who has sold himself as a slave; another, and later one, lays it down that such a slave is to go free in the jubilee year. Bäntsch regards 1-7, 14, 17, 18-22, 23, 24, 35-38, 39, 40^a, 43, 46^b, 53, 55, as containing the original legislation. Hence we have (1) the original kernel, (2) additions in the style and spirit of the 'Law of Holiness,' (3) interpolation from another school, that of P. I have made no attempt to distinguish (1) and (2) by separate type. Vv. 19-22 are misplaced, probably with the view of connecting the jubilee with the rest of the law. Ver. 23 is immediately connected with ver. 18.

possession. 14. And if thou sell aught to thy neighbour, or buy aught from thy neighbour, you shall do no wrong to each other. 15. According to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy from thy neighbour : according to the number of harvest years shall he sell to thee. 16. In proportion as the years are many, thou shalt increase its price, and in proportion as the years are few, thou shalt reduce its price, for it is the number of harvests that he is selling to thee. 17. And you shall not wrong one another, and thou shalt be afraid of Yahwè thy God, for I am Yahwè your God. 18. Wherefore you shall do my statutes and keep my judgments and do them, that you may dwell on the land securely.

19. And the land shall yield its fruit and you shall eat to the full and you shall dwell thereon securely. 20. And if you say, What shall we eat in the seventh year, if we are not to sow or gather our crop? 21. I will command my blessing for you in the sixth year and it shall produce its crop for three years. 22. Then you shall sow the eighth year and eat of the produce that which is old : till the ninth year, till its crop comes, you shall eat that which is old.

23. And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine, for you are settlers and sojourners with me, 24. and in all the land of your possession, you shall grant redemption for the land.

25. If thy brother grow poor and sell any part of his possession, then his nearest relation shall come as his redeemer and shall redeem that which his brother has sold. 26. And a man, when he has no redeemer, but contrives to get what is enough for his redemption, 27. shall compute the years since it was sold and restore the overplus to the man to whom he sold it : then he shall return to his possession. 28. But if he cannot contrive to get the sum which he must restore to the other, that which he has sold shall remain in the hands of him who bought till the year of jubilee, but in the year of jubilee it shall go free, so that he may return to his possession.

29. *But if a man sell a dwelling house in a walled city, he may redeem it till the year of its sale is complete: its redemption shall be possible for a specified time.* 30. *But if it be not redeemed till the expiry of a complete year, then the house which is in a walled city shall belong in perpetuity to the purchaser and to his descendants: it shall not go free in the jubilee.* 31. *But houses in villages without walls round them shall be counted as country field: they have the right of redemption and shall go forth in the jubilee.* 32. *But as for the cities of the Levites, as for the houses in the cities in their possession, the Levites shall always have the right of redemption.* 33. *But if any of the Levites shall not redeem,¹ still the house sold in the city² of his possession shall go free in the jubilee, for the houses in the cities of the Levites are their possession in the midst of the children of Israel.* 34. *And the field of the pasture land of their cities shall not be sold since it is a perpetual possession for them.*

35. **And if thy brother grow poor and his hand gives way, thou shalt uphold him as a settler and stranger, and he shall live with thee.** 36. **Thou shalt not take interest in money or kind from him and thou shalt be afraid of thy God, and thy brother shall live with thee.** 37. **Thou shalt not give him thy money at interest or thy food for repayment with increase.** 38. **I am Yahwè your God who brought you forth from the land of Egypt, to give you the land of Canaan, to be a God to you.**

39. **And if thy brother become poor beside thee and be sold to thee, thou shalt not lay on him the work of a slave.** 40. **As a hired servant and a stranger shall he be with thee: till the year of jubilee he shall serve with thee.** 41. **And he shall go forth from thee, he and his sons with him, and he shall return to his clan and he shall return to the possession of his fathers,** 42. **for they are slaves to me who brought**

¹ 'Shall not redeem.' The negative is absent in the Massoretic text, but is absolutely necessary to the sense. The reading of the Vulg., 'Shall not redeem,' has been generally adopted since Houbigant's time.

² 'In the city.' I have followed Dillm. in omitting the ך before עיר.

them forth from the land of Egypt: they shall not be sold, as a slave is sold. 43. Thou shalt not lord it over him with rigour, and thou shalt be afraid of thy God. 44. But as for thy male and female slave whom thou hast, from the nations that are round about you, from them you shall buy a male or female slave. 45. And also from the children of the strangers that are settled with you, from them shall you buy and from their families that are with you which they have begotten in your land: they shall be a possession for you. 46. And you may leave them as an inheritance to your sons after you, to hold in possession: you may make slaves of them for ever, but over your brothers the children of Israel, each over the other thou shalt not lord it with rigour.

47. But if a settler or stranger become powerful beside thee, while thy brother by his side grows poor and he sell himself to the settler or stranger that is with thee or to the descendant of the clan of a settler, 48. after he has sold himself, opportunity shall be given him of redemption: one of his brothers may redeem him, 49. or his uncle or uncle's son may redeem him or one of his kindred from his clan may redeem him; or if his means grow, he may redeem himself. 50. And he shall reckon with his purchaser from the year in which he sold himself to him till the year of jubilee, and the money for which he is sold shall correspond to the number of years: the days he is with him shall be valued like those of a hired servant. 51. If there are still many years, in proportion to them he shall pay back for his redemption part of the money for which he was bought. 52. But if few of the years be left till the year of jubilee, he shall make a reckoning for himself; according to the proportion of the years that he has to serve, he shall pay back the money for his redemption. 53. Like one hired year by year shall he be with him: let him not lord it over him with rigour while thou lookest on. 54. But in case he be not redeemed by these means, then he shall go free in the year of jubilee, he and his children with him. 55. For the children of Israel are slaves to

me: my slaves they are whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt. I am Yahwé your God.

PROHIBITION OF IDOLATRY, SANCTITY OF SABBATH
AND SANCTUARY.¹

XXVI. 1. You shall not make for yourselves things of naught or set up for yourselves graven image or pillar or put a stone with carved work in your land to bow down before it, for I am Yahwé your God. 2. You shall keep my sabbaths and fear my sanctuary: I am Yahwé.

THE BLESSING AND THE CURSE.²

3. If you walk in my statutes and keep my commandments

¹ 'Prohibition of idolatry,' etc. Comp. xix. 3, 4, 30. These verses are placed at the end of the legislation, perhaps because of the great importance which the collector of this code attached to the three subjects mentioned here. The Sabbath law is urged in this place for the third time.

² 'The blessing and the curse.' There does not seem to be anything like adequate support for Bäntsch's contention, that originally this long exhortation stood apart from the 'Law of Holiness,' and was afterwards appended to it by an editor who inserted vv. 10, 17 [?], 34, 35, 39-43. In these verses reference is made to the sabbatical year, so that the concluding address is connected with the body of the law. The connection is on the whole exceedingly good, and it is against common sense to assume that a writer must always have maintained the closest logical sequence of ideas and avoided the least digression or superfluity. Modern writers do not always furnish perfect models in this respect. Why should it be supposed that an ancient writer necessarily did so? But in fact, the many and strong resemblances between the concluding exhortation and the code prove their common origin. Take the following list given by Bäntsch himself: 'Walk in statutes,' ver. 3; comp. xviii. 3, xx. 23: 'Keep commandments,' ver. 3; comp. xxii. 31: 'Keep and do,' ver. 3; comp. xx. 8: 'I am, Yahwé your God,' 13, 44; comp. the code *passim*: 'My statutes and my judgments,' 15, 43; comp. xviii. 4, 26, xix. 37, xx. 22: 'eat to the full' and 'dwell securely' in 5; comp. xxv. 18-22: 'eat that which is old' in 10; comp. xxv. 22: 'incline towards' in 9; comp. xix. 4, 31: 'Set my face against' in 17; comp. xvii. 10, xx. 3, 6: 'tabernacle' in 11; comp. xvii. 4. Moreover, it is quite natural that a code written in the time of the prophets, and representing at least in some degree their spirit, should end with promises and threats after the prophetic manner. As then Exod. xxiii. 20 *seq.* stands to the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deut. xxviii. to the Deuteronomical code, so Lev. xxvi. 3-45, *seq.* stands to the 'Law of Holiness.'

and do them, 4. I will give you showers in their season, and the earth shall yield its increase and the tree in the field shall yield its fruit. 5. And your threshing shall hold out to the vintage, and the vintage shall hold out to the sowing, and you shall eat your bread to the full and dwell securely in your land. 6. And I will give peace in the land, so that you shall lie down with none to make you afraid, and I will cause evil beasts to cease from the land and a sword shall not pass through your land. 7. And you shall chase your enemies and they shall fall before you by the sword. 8. And five of you shall chase a hundred, and a hundred of you shall chase ten thousand, so that your enemies

ness.' Then in ver. 46 we have distinct intimation that the code is complete. 'These are the statutes and judgments,' etc. 'which Yahwè gave through Moses.' Later on we shall see how completely this sentence separates the 'Law of Holiness' from the 'Priestly Code.'

If therefore there is good reason to believe that ch. xxvi. 3-45 is of one date, not necessarily with the particular statutes in the 'Law of Holiness,' but with the collection of these laws and the framework in which they are set, the question as to indications of date in xxvi. 3-43 acquires special interest. These indications are clear and precise. The people are in exile. Such a verse as 34 leaves no shadow of doubt on this point. The land is to make good its sabbatical years; it is to have during its desolation that rest which the Israelites should have given, but did not give it, while they were its inhabitants. The exile, however, is apparently near its close and the lawgiver is full of hope (see espec. 44). But this exile can only be the Babylonian. The similarity to Ezekiel, striking as it is throughout the whole code, reaches its culmination here, and would suffice to show that ch. xxvi. cannot be older than that prophet. I have not space for Bäntsch's elaborate comparison of chapter, verse by verse, with the vocabulary of the prophet. I can only quote Kuenen's statement that ch. xxvi. contains twenty-two expressions common to Ezekiel but found nowhere else in the O. T., and thirteen more found in Ezekiel but nowhere else in the Pentateuch (Onderz. t. i. § 15, n. 10). Of course it is very easy to understand that the writer of this chapter became imbued with the language of style of Ezekiel and gave its quintessence here. But it is incredible that Ezekiel should have culled expressions from one chapter of an old writing, and scattered them throughout his prophecies. Besides, there are other marks of late date in ch. xxvi.; the expressions used in ver. 16 occur nowhere else except in Deut. xxviii. 22, 65. The word used for 'ancestors' in ver. 45 occurs nowhere else in that sense except in Deut. xix. 14, and in the later literature, e.g. Isa. lxi. 4. The metaphor, 'uncircumcised heart,' ver. 41, first appears in Deut. x. 16 and in such prophetic literature as is contemporary or later, Jer. iv. 4, ix. 24, 25; Ezek. xlv. 7, 9.

shall fall before you by the sword. 9. Also I will incline towards you and will make you fruitful and will multiply you and will establish my covenant with you. 10. And you shall eat old [grain] long stored and will have to put out the old to make room for the new. 11. And I will put my tabernacle in the midst of you, and my soul will have no loathing of you, 12. and I will walk in the midst of you and shall be a God for you and you shall be a people for me. 13. I am Yahwè your God who brought you forth from the land of the Egyptians from being their slaves, and I broke the bands of your neck and made you go upright.

14. But if you will not listen to me and will not do all these commandments, 15. and if you spurn my statutes and your soul loathes my judgments, so as not to do all my commandments and break my covenant, 16. I also will do this to you: I will set terror over you, consumption and fever wasting the eyes and making the life pine away, and you shall sow your seed in vain, for your foes will eat it up. 17. And I will set my face against you, and you shall be smitten before your enemies, and they that hate you shall lord it over you, and you shall flee while none pursues you.

18. And if even then you will not listen to me, I will chastise you seven other times for your sins. 19. And I will break the pride of your strength and make your heavens as iron and your land as bronze. 20. And your strength shall be spent in vain, and your land shall not yield its increase, and the trees of the land shall not yield its fruit. 21. And if you walk with me contrariwise and are not willing to listen to me, I will bring seven more plagues on you, as your sins deserve. 22. And I will send on you the wild beast to rob you of your children and destroy your cattle and make you few, so that your roads shall be desolate. 23. And if by these means you are not brought back chastened to me but walk with me contrariwise, 24. I also will walk with you contrariwise and I too shall smite you seven times for your sins. 25. And I will bring on you a

sword that shall take vengeance for the covenant, and you shall gather together into your cities, and I will send pestilence in your midst and you shall be delivered into the hand of an enemy. 26. When I break for you the staff of bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven and shall give you back your bread by weight, so that you shall eat, but not be full.

27. But if this will not make you listen to me and you walk with me contrariwise, 28. I will walk with you in the fury of contradiction, and I also will chastise you seven times because of your sins. 29. And you shall eat your sons' flesh and you shall eat your daughters' flesh. 30. And I will waste your high places and cut down your pillars of the sun, and I will put your corpses on the corpses of your idols, and my soul shall loathe you. 31. And I will make your cities a desolation and will waste your sanctuaries and will not smell your sweet savour. 32. And I will waste your land, so that your enemies that take up their abode there shall be amazed at it. 33. And I will scatter you among the nations and will draw the sword after you, and your land will be a waste and your cities will be a desolation. 34. Then shall the land enjoy its sabbaths all the days that it is desolate, while you are in the land of your enemies: then shall the land rest and pay its sabbaths. 35. All the days that it is wasted, it shall have rest, the rest which it did not have during your sabbaths while you dwelt upon it. 36. And as for those among you who are left, I will bring faintness into their heart in the lands of their enemies, so that the sound of a driven leaf shall chase them and they shall flee as if before the sword and shall fall, though none pursues. 37. And one shall stumble on the other, as if before the sword, while none pursues, and you shall have no power to stand before your enemies. 38. So shall you perish among the nations and the land of your enemies shall devour you. 39. And those among you who are left shall pine away because of their iniquity in the land of their enemies, and also because of the iniquities of their fathers shall they pine away like them. 40. But if they confess

their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers, the treason which they committed against me and also how they walked with me contrariwise, 41.—I also had to walk with them contrariwise and to bring them into the land of their enemies—if perchance their uncircumcised heart be humbled, and they accept the penalty of their guilt, 42. I will remember my covenant with Jacob and also I will remember my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham and I will remember the land. 43. But the land must be left by them and must enjoy its sabbaths, while it lies desolate, after they are gone, and they must accept the penalty of their guilt, because, yea because they have spurned my judgments, and their soul has loathed my statutes. 44. Nay but even thus¹ when they are in the land of their enemies I have not spurned them or loathed them, so that I should consume them, breaking my covenant with them, for I am Yahwè their God. 45. But I will remember for their sake the covenant of their ancestors whom I brought forth from the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations that I might be their God. I am Yahwè. 46. These are the statutes and the judgments and the laws which Yahwè gave between himself and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai² through Moses.

APPENDED RULES ON VOWS AND TITHES.³

XXVII. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 2. *Speak to the*

¹ 'Thus.' Driver's slight correction of the text (זאת for זאת) has been adopted.

² 'In Mount Sinai.' This situation rests on the tradition of the 'Oldest Book.' According to P, Lev. i. i., the laws were given from the tent of meeting.

³ 'Appended rules on vows and tithes,' ch. xxvii. The chapter forms, as Wellhausen puts it, a casuistical commentary on ch. xxii., the word מן in ver. 8 seems to be a reminiscence of the vocabulary used in the 'Law of Holiness,' and this chapter, like the 'Law of Holiness,' professes to have been delivered in Mount Sinai (not like P at the door of the tent of meeting). Otherwise the language is that of P throughout, so that there is much to be said for Wellhausen's theory, that this chapter comes from the

children of Israel and say to them, *Whensoever any one shall accomplish a vow consisting in persons according to thy valuation,* 3. *thy valuation shall be in the case of a male from twenty to sixty years of age—thy valuation shall be fifty shekels of silver, after the standard of the holy shekel.* 4. *But if it be a female, thy valuation shall be thirty shekels.* 5. *And if the age be between five and twenty years, thy valuation shall be for the male twenty shekels and for the female ten shekels.* 6. *And if the age be from a month to five years, thy valuation shall be for the male five silver shekels and for the female thy estimation shall be three silver shekels.* 7. *And if the age be from sixty years and upwards, then in the case of a male thy valuation shall be fifteen shekels and for a female ten shekels.* 8. *But if any one be too poor to pay the price fixed by thee, he shall be placed before the priest and the priest shall fix his value: according to the means of him who made the vow shall the priest fix his value.*

9. *And if it be cattle from which men may offer an oblation to Yahwè, all that any one gives of such shall be holy to Yahwè.* 10. *He shall not alter or change it, good for bad or bad for good, but if he will change beast for beast, both it and the beast given in exchange shall be holy.* 11. *But if it be any kind of unclean beast, from which no oblation can be made to Yahwè, he shall place the beast before the priest.* 12. *And the priest shall value it, as it is good or bad; according to the valuation of thee, the priest, so shall it be.* 13. *And if he will redeem it, he shall add a fifth to the valuation fixed by thee.*

14. *And whensoever one shall set apart his house as holy for*

same hand which incorporated the 'Law of Holiness' with P. This is confirmed by the fact that the rules on tithes, vv. 30-33, belong to a secondary stratum of P. Deut. only requires tithes of vegetable produce, which are to be consumed by the offerer in sacrificial feasts at Jerusalem, except every third year when the tithes were to be used in feasts at home for the benefit of the poor (Deut. xiv. 22-29, xv. 19-23, xxvi. 12-15). In P (Num. xviii. 21-28,) it is still only vegetable tithes which are required, but they are claimed exclusively as the property of the Levitical tribe. Here tithes are claimed exclusively for Yahwè, *i.e.* no doubt, for Yahwè's ministers, the Levites, but the claim is extended to cattle.

Yahwè, the priest shall make a valuation of it, as it is good or bad: as the priest values it, so shall the matter rest. 15. But if he who sets it apart for holy use redeem his house, he shall add to the price fixed a fifth of the money at which thou hast valued it: then it shall be his.

16. And if a man set apart for Yahwè part of the field of his possession, thy valuation shall be made in proportion to the seed required for sowing it: land sown with a homer of barley shall be valued at fifty shekels of silver. 17. If he set apart his field for holy use immediately after the year of jubilee, the matter shall be fixed in accordance with thy valuation. 18. But if he set apart his field for holy use after the jubilee, the priest shall reckon the money in proportion to the years that are left to the year of jubilee, and an abatement shall be made from thy valuation. 19. And if he that set it apart for holy use will redeem his field, he shall add a fifth part to the money at which thou hast valued it, and it shall remain his. 20. But if he does not redeem the field and sells the field to another man, it can no longer be redeemed. 21. But the field when it goes free in the jubilee shall be set apart for Yahwè like a field under the ban: the priest shall have it as his possession.

22. And if a man set apart for Yahwè land which he has bought, such as is no part of his hereditary possession, 23. the priest shall count for him the amount of thy valuation till the year of jubilee, and he shall give the sum fixed by thee on that day as a thing hallowed for Yahwè. 24. In the jubilee year the field shall return to the man from whom he bought it, to him whose the land is by hereditary right. 25. Now every valuation of thine shall be made in the holy shekel: twenty gerahs shall there be to the shekel.

26. Only as for a firstborn which as firstborn among cattle belongs to Yahwè—no man shall set it apart for pious use: whether it be large or small cattle, it belongs to Yahwè. 27. But if it is from the class of unclean beasts, he shall redeem it at thy valuation and add a fifth thereto, and if it is not redeemed, it shall be sold at thy estimation. 28. Only all under ban, which a man consecrates by ban to Yahwè, whatsoever of his property it be, man or beast or

hereditary field shall neither be sold nor redeemed : everything under ban is most holy for Yahwè. 29. No man that is laid under the ban shall be bought back : he shall surely be put to death.

30. All tithes of the land from the grain of the land [or] from tree fruit, is Yahwè's : it is set apart for Yahwè. 31. And if a man wills to redeem any of his tithe, let him add a fifth to its value.

32. And as for all tithes of herd and flock, of all that passes under the shepherd's staff the tenth part shall be consecrated to Yahwè. 33. They shall not seek to distinguish between good and bad and shall not exchange it ; but if he does exchange it, both it and that which has been given in exchange for it shall be holy : they shall not be redeemed.

34. These are the commandments which Yahwè imposed on Moses for the children of Israel in mount Sinai.

MUSTER OF THE MEN OF WAR.¹ APPOINTMENT OF THE LEVITES.

NUMBERS I. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai in the tent of meeting on the first day of the second month in the second year of their exodus from the land of Egypt, saying,
2. Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel by their clans, by their families, according to the number of names, every male, by their heads. 3. From twenty years of age and upwards all in Israel that are fit to serve in war, thou and Aaron shall number them in their ranks. 4. And with you

¹ 'Muster of the men of war,' ch. i. Wellhausen regards i. 17-47 as a later addition to P. He points out that the order of the tribes differs from that in i. 1-16, and agrees with that of their encampment in ch. ii., which points, as he thinks, to the conclusion that 17-47 was added by some one who had read ch. ii., also that 48-54 (directing Moses not to number the Levites), should precede 17-47 (the actual numbering of the other tribes). Kuenen replies with some force that P must have recorded the actual numbering of the tribes, that it was not unnatural for him to anticipate the order of encampment to be given in ch. ii., and that a certain awkwardness in the details of a fictitious narrative by no means disproves its authenticity as an original part of P's book.

there shall be a man for every tribe, one that is head over the families. 5. Now these are the names of the men who shall stand with you: for Reuben, Elizur the son of Shedeur: 6. for Simeon, Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: 7. for Judah, Nahshon the son of Amminadab: 8. for Issachar, Nathanel the son of Zuar: 9. for Zebulun, Eliab the son of Helon: 10. for the sons of Joseph, [namely] for Ephraim, Elishama the son of Ammihud, for Manasseh, Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: 11. for Benjamin, Abidan the son of Gideoni: 12. for Dan, Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai: 13. for Asher, Pagiël the son of Ochran: 14. for Gad, Eliasaph the son of Deuel, 15. for Naphthali, Ahira the son of Enan. 16. These were the men called from the congregation, princes of their ancestral tribes, heads of the thousands of Israel. 17. So Moses and Aaron took these men who were specified by name, 18. and convoked the whole congregation on the first of the second month, and they were enrolled according to their clans, their families, by their individual names from twenty years of age and upwards head by head, 19. as Yahwè commanded Moses: so he mustered them in the wilderness of Sinai.

20. And the sons of Reuben, Israel's firstborn, their generations by their clans, their families, by the number of names head by head, all the males from twenty years of age and upwards, all fit to serve in war, 21. those that were numbered of them, the tribe of Reuben, were forty-six thousand, five hundred. 22. Of the sons of Simeon, their generations by their clans, by their families, those of them that were numbered according to their individual names, head by head, all the males from twenty years of age and upwards, all that were fit to serve in war, 23. the numbered men of them the tribe of Simeon were fifty-nine thousand, three hundred. 24. Of the sons of Gad, their generations by their clans, by their families, according to the number of names, head by head, from twenty years of age and upwards all that were fit for war, 25. the numbered men of them the tribe of Gad, were forty-five thousand six

hundred and fifty. 26. Of the sons of Judah their generations according to their clans according to their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards all fit to serve in war, 27. the numbered men of them the tribe of Judah were seventy-four thousand and six hundred. 28. Of the sons of Issachar their generations by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards, 29. the numbered men of them the tribe of Issachar were fifty-four thousand, four hundred. 30. Of the sons of Zebulun, their generations by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards, all fit to serve in war, 31. the numbered men of them the tribe of Zebulun were fifty-seven thousand, four hundred. 32. Of the sons of Joseph [namely] of the sons of Ephraim, their generations by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards, all fit to serve in war, 33. the numbered men of them the tribe of Ephraim were forty thousand, five hundred. 34. Of the sons of Manasseh their generations by their clans, by their families, by the number of their names from twenty years old and upwards, all that were fit to serve in war, 35. the numbered men of them the tribe of Manasseh were thirty-two thousand, two hundred. 36. Of the sons of Benjamin their generations, by their clans, by their families, by the number of their names from twenty years of age and upwards, all that were fit to serve in war, 37. the numbered men of them the tribe of Benjamin were thirty-five thousand, four hundred. 38. Of the sons of Dan, their generations, by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards all that were fit to serve in war, 39. the numbered men of the tribe of Dan were sixty-two thousand, seven hundred. 40. Of the sons of Asher, their generations by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards all that were fit to serve in war, 41. the numbered men of the tribe of Asher were forty-one thousand, five hundred. 42. The sons of Naphtali,

their generations, by their clans, by their families, by the number of names from twenty years of age and upwards, all that were fit to serve in war, 43. the numbered men of the tribe of Naphtali were fifty-three thousand, four hundred. 44. These were the numbered men whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered, twelve men, one for each of the collection of families to which he belonged. 45. Now all the numbered men of the children of Israel by their families from twenty years of age and upwards, all that were fit to serve in Israel, 46. all the numbered men were six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty. 47. But the Levites according to their ancestral tribe were not numbered among them.

48. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 49. Only thou shalt not number the tribe of Levi or take the sum of them among the children of Israel, 50. but do thou appoint the Levites over the tabernacle of the testimony and over all its furniture and all that appertains to it: they shall bear the tabernacle and all its furniture and they shall minister thereto and shall encamp round the tabernacle. 51. And when the tabernacle moves, the Levites shall take it to pieces, and when the tabernacle rests, the Levites shall put it up, but any stranger who approaches it shall be put to death. 52. But the children of Israel shall encamp each according to his own quarter, and each according to his own standard by their hosts. 53. But the Levites shall encamp round the tabernacle of the testimony, lest anger [of God] fall on the congregation of the children of Israel, and the Levites shall keep guard over the tabernacle of the testimony.

54. And the children of Israel did, as Yahwè had commanded Moses: so did they.

THE ORDER OF THE CAMP.

II. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying, 2. The children of Israel shall encamp each according to his banner by the signs for their [groups of] families: over against the tent

of meeting around it shall they encamp. 3. And those that encamp in front eastwards shall be under the standard of Judah according to their hosts, and the prince of the sons of Judah shall be Nahshon the son of Amminadab, 4. with his host and his numbered men seventy-four thousand, six hundred. 5. And those that encamp next him shall be the tribe of Issachar, and the prince of the sons of Issachar shall be Nathanel the son of Zuar, 6. with his host and his numbered men fifty-four thousand four hundred. 7. The tribe of Zebulun : and the prince of the children of Zebulun shall be Eliab the son of Helon, 8. with his host and his numbered men fifty-seven thousand, four hundred. 9. All the numbered men in the camp of Judah were a hundred and eighty-six thousand, four hundred according to their hosts : they are to set forth first.

10. On the south side shall be the banner of the camp of Reuben according to their hosts, and the prince of the children of Reuben shall be Elizur the son of Shedeur, 11. with his host and his numbered men forty-six thousand, five hundred. 12. And those that encamp next him shall be the tribe of Simeon, and the prince of the children of Simeon shall be Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai, 13. with his host and his numbered men fifty-nine thousand, three hundred. 14. Further the tribe of Gad : and the prince of the children of Gad shall be Eliasaph the son of Reuel, 15. with his host and his numbered men forty-five thousand, six hundred and fifty. 16. All the numbered men in the camp of Reuben were a hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and fifty according to their hosts : and they are to set forth second.

17. But the tent of meeting shall set forth with the camp of the Levites in the midst of the [other] camps : as they encamp, so shall they set forth, each in his place, according to their banners.

18. The banner of the camp of Ephraim with their hosts shall be on the west, and the prince of the children of Ephraim shall be Elishama the son of Ammihud, 19. with his camp and his

numbered men forty thousand, five hundred. 20. And next to him shall be the tribe of Manasseh, and the prince of the children of Manasseh shall be Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur, 21. with his host and his numbered men thirty-two thousand, two hundred. 22. Next the tribe of Benjamin: and the prince of the children of Benjamin shall be Abidan the son of Gideoni, 23. with his host and his numbered men thirty-five thousand, four hundred. 24. All the numbered men of the camp of Ephraim were a hundred and eight thousand, one hundred in their hosts: and they have to set forth third.

25. The banner of the camp of Dan with their hosts shall be on the north, and the prince of the children of Dan shall be Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai, 26. with his host and their numbered men sixty-two thousand, seven hundred. 27. And those that encamp next him shall be the tribe of Asher, and the prince of the children of Asher shall be Pagiel the son of Ochran, 28. with his host and their numbered men forty-one thousand, five hundred. 29. Next the tribe of Naphtali, and the prince of the children of Naphtali shall be Ahira the son of Enan, 30. with his host and their numbered men fifty-three thousand, four hundred. 31. All the numbered men of the camp of Dan were a hundred and fifty-seven thousand, six hundred. These are to set forth last according to their banners.

32. These are the numbered men of the children of Israel according to their kindred; all the numbered men of the camps in their hosts were six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty. 33. But the Levites were not numbered among the children of Israel, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 34. And the children of Israel did just as Yahwè commanded Moses. So they encamped according to their banners, and so they set forth each by their clans according to their kindred.

NUMBERING OF THE LEVITES. REDEMPTION OF THE FIRSTBORN.

III. 1. *Now these are the generations¹ of Aaron and Moses at the time when Yahwè spoke with Moses in Mount Sinai.* 2. *And these are the names of the sons of Aaron, Nadab the firstborn and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar.* 3. *These are the names of the sons of Aaron the anointed priests whose hands they filled to act as priests.* 4. *Now Nadab and Abihu died before Yahwè, as they offered strange fire to Yahwè in the wilderness of Sinai, without leaving sons, and Eleazar and Ithamar acted as priests under the eye of Aaron their father.*

5. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 6. Bring the tribe of Levi near and set it before Aaron the priest, that they may minister to him, 7. and may look to that which is to be done for him and for the whole congregation in front of the tent of meeting, doing the work of the tabernacle, 8. and they shall keep all the furniture of the tent of meeting and all that the children of Israel have to keep, doing the work of the tabernacle. 9. And thou shalt give the Levites to Aaron and his sons: they are given over entirely to him on behalf of the children of Israel. 10. And thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons that they may keep their priesthood, but the stranger who intrudes shall be put to death.

11. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 12. I myself have taken the Levites from among the children of Israel instead of all the firstborn of the children of Israel that open the womb that the Levites may be mine; 13. for all the firstborn are mine; on the day that I smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt I consecrated for myself all the firstborn in Israel, whether man or beast; mine shall they be: I am Yahwè.

14. And Yahwè spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai saying, 15. Number the children of Levi according to their kin

¹ 'Now these are the generations,' etc., iii. 1-4. Wellh. and Cornill are probably justified in regarding the passage as an addition to P. It is not required and it assumes that Aaron's sons, *i.e.* the ordinary as distinct from the High Priest, are anointed. Contrast Exod. xxix.

by their clans; every male of theirs from one month old and upwards shalt thou number. 16. So Moses numbered them according to Yahwè's bidding, as he had been commanded. 17. Now these were the sons of Levi by their names, Gershon and Kohath and Merari. 18. And these are the names of the sons of Gershon in their clans, Libni and Shimei. 19. And the sons of Kohath by their clans, Amram and Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel. 20. And the sons of Merari by their clans, Mahli and Mushi. These are the clans of Levi according to their kin.

21. To Gershon belonged the clan of the Libnites and the clan of the Shimeites: these are the clans of the Gershonites. 22. Their numbered ones, reckoning all males from a month old and upwards, those of them that were numbered were seven thousand, five hundred. 23. The clans of the Gershonites used to encamp behind the tabernacle westward. 24. Now the prince of the families of the Gershonites was Eliasaph the son of Lael. 25. Now in the tent of meeting the sons of Gershon had to attend to the tabernacle [proper] and the tent-roof, its covering and the curtain before the entrance of the tent 26. and the hangings of the court and the curtain of the entrance to the court which was round the tabernacle and the altar and its cords,—all the service required for them.

27. And to Kohath belonged the clan of the Amramites and the clan of the Izharites and the clan of the Hebronites and the clan of the Uzzielites: these are the clans of the Kohathites. 28. Reckoning all males from one month old and upwards, there were eight thousand six hundred attending to the care of the sanctuary. 29. The clans of the children of Kohath used to encamp on the side of the tabernacle southward. 30. And the hereditary prince of the clans of the Kohathites was Elizaphan the son of Uzziel. 31. And they had under their care the ark and the table and the candlestick and the altars¹ and the holy

¹ 'Altars.' P in its original form knows only one altar. See note on Exod. xxx. 1, so that here we have a clear mark of secondary origin. But we may hesitate to follow Wellh. in his contention that the whole of the chapter from

vessels wherewith they ministered, and the screen and all that had to be done for it. 32. But the prince of the Levite princes was Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, as superintendent of those who took care of the sanctuary.

33. To Merari belonged the clan of the Mahlites and the clan of the Mushites: these are the clans of the Merarites. 34. And their numbered ones, reckoning all males from a month old and upwards, were six thousand two hundred. 35. Now the prince of those that belonged by kin to the clans of Merari was Zurriel the son of Abihail: they used to encamp on the side of the tabernacle northwards. 36. And that which was committed to the care of the sons of Merari was the beams of the tabernacle and its bars and its pillars and its sockets and all its vessels and all that had to be done for them, 37. and the pillars of the court around and their sockets and their pegs and their cords. 38. And those that encamped before the tabernacle in front on the east of the tent of meeting were Moses and Aaron and his sons who attended to the service of the sanctuary, to that which had to be done on behalf of the children of Israel: but a stranger who draws near shall be put to death. 39. All that were numbered of the Levites whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to Yahwè's command by their clans, all the males from a month old and upwards were twenty-two thousand.

40. Then Yahwè said to Moses, Number all the firstborn males of the children of Israel from a month old and upwards and take the number of their names, 41. and thou shalt take the Levites for me, I am Yahwè, instead of all the firstborn of the children of Israel and the cattle of the Levites, instead of all the firstborn of the cattle of the children of Israel. 42. So Moses numbered, as Yahwè had commanded him, all the firstborn of

ver. 14 to the end is an interpolation. It is incredible that P having described the census of the other tribes should omit the actual numbering of the Levites, to him by far the most important tribe in Israel. Why should not a later hand have changed the word 'altar' into the plural? Moreover, the reading is not quite certain. Pesh. and Onk. (in the London Polyglot, not, however, in Berliner's ed.) read 'altar.'

the children of Israel. 43. Now all the firstborn males by the number of names from a month old and upwards as many as were numbered were twenty-two thousand, two hundred and seventy-three.

44. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 45. Take the Levites instead of all the firstborn of the children of Israel and the cattle of the Levites instead of their cattle, that the Levites may be mine; I am Yahwè. 46. And as for the redemption of the two hundred and seventy-three of the firstborn of the children of Israel which are over and above [the number of] the Levites, 47, thou shalt take five shekels for each head of them: thou shalt take it, reckoning by the holy shekel, twenty grains to the shekel, 48. and thou shalt give the money to Aaron and his sons for the redemption of those among them that are over and above. 49. So Moses took the redemption money from them that were over and above those that were redeemed by the Levites. 50. From the firstborn of the children of Israel he took the money one thousand three hundred and sixty-five shekels of the holy standard. 51. And Moses gave the redemption money to Aaron and his sons according to Yahwè's command, as Yahwè had commanded Moses.

THE DIVISION OF DUTY¹ AMONG THE LEVITES. THEIR AGE
AND NUMBER.

IV. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, 2. Take the sum of the sons of Kohath from among the sons of Levi by their clans, by their families, 3. from thirty years and upwards to fifty years of age, all that enter on service to do work in the tent of meeting. 4. This is the service of the sons of Kohath in the tent of meeting, [the care of] the most holy things. 5. And Aaron and his sons*

¹ 'The division of duty,' etc., ch. iv. This chapter is an expansion of particulars already given in ch. iii. It contains marks which belong to the secondary strata of P, viz., the reference to the altar of incense, ver. 11, and to the perfumed incense, ver. 16.

shall come when the camp sets forth and shall take down the veil of the screen and shall cover therewith the ark of the testimony, 6. and put on that a covering of porpoise skins and spread a cloth entirely of blue thereon¹ above, and put in its staves. 7. Also on the table of the shew [bread] they shall spread a blue cloth and put on it the dishes and the cups and the cans and the bowls for the libation, and the continual bread shall be thereon. 8. And they shall spread over them a scarlet cloth and shall cover that with a covering of porpoise skin and put in its staves. 9. Also they shall take a blue cloth and cover the candlestick that is for the light and its lamps and its tongs and its snuff-dishes and all the vessels for its oil wherewith they provide for it. 10. And they shall put it and all its vessels into a covering of porpoise skin and set it on the frame. 11. And they shall spread a blue cloth on the golden altar and shall cover it with a covering of porpoise skin and shall put in its staves; 12. and they shall take all the vessels for ministration wherewith they minister in the holy place and put them in a blue cloth and cover them with a covering of porpoise skin and put them on the frame. 13. Also they shall cleanse the altar of ashes and spread thereon a purple cloth, 14. and shall put on it all its vessels wherewith they minister about it, the fire-pans, forks and the shovels and the basons, all the altar vessels, and they shall spread thereon a covering of porpoise skin and they shall put in its staves. 15. And when Aaron and his sons have finished covering the holy things whenever the camp sets forth, afterwards the sons of Kohath shall come to carry them: but they are not to touch the holy things: else they shall die: these are the things in the tent of meeting which the sons of Kohath are to carry. 16. And Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest shall have the keeping of the oil for the light and the perfumed incense and the continual meal offering and the oil for anointing, [with] the superintendence of all the tabernacle and all that is in it, holy things and the vessels appertaining thereto.

17. And Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, 18. You shall

¹ 'Thereon.' This word is found in Sam. and LXX.

not suffer the clan of Kohath to be cut off from among the Levites, 19. but do this for them that they may live and not die when they approach that which is most holy: Aaron and his sons shall come and set each of them to his service and his burden, 20. but they shall not come to see the holy things even for a moment, lest they die.

21. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 22. Take the sum of the sons of Gershon also, by their families, by their clans; 23. from thirty years old and upwards to fifty years old shalt thou number them all that go to serve in company to perform work in the tent of meeting. 24. This is the service of the clans of the Gershonites in working and carrying; 25. they shall carry the curtains of the tabernacle and the tent of meeting, its covering and the covering of porpoise [skin] which is laid on above, and the curtain for the entrance of the tent of meeting, 26. and the hangings of the court and the curtain over the opening for the gate of the court which is round the altar and the tabernacle and their cords and all the implements for their service, and all that is to be done therewith they shall perform. 27. At the word of Aaron and his sons shall all the service of the Gershonites be rendered, with respect to all that they carry and all their work, and you shall tell them all the things by name¹ which they have to carry. 28. This is the service of the clans of the sons of the Gershonites in the tent of meeting and their duty shall be under the care of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

29. The sons of Merari: by their clans, by their families shalt thou number them. 30. From thirty years old and upwards and up to fifty years shalt thou number them, all that enter into service to do the work of the tent of meeting. 31. Now this is the burden committed to them, namely all their work in the tent of meeting, the beams of the tabernacle with its bars and pillars and sockets 32. and the pillars of the court round about with their sockets

¹ 'By name.' This is the reading of the LXX., justified by the sense and by the analogy of the Massoretic text in ver. 32.

and pegs and cords, including all their implements and all that has to be done with them, and you shall tell them by name the furniture which they have to carry. 33. This is the work of the clans of the sons of Merari, all their work in the tent of meeting under the direction of Ithamar the son of Aaron the priest.

34. Then Moses and Aaron and the princes of the congregation numbered the sons of the Kohathites by their clans and families, 35. from thirty years old and upwards to fifty years, all that entered into service for work in the tent of meeting, 36. and their men numbered by their clans were two thousand seven hundred and fifty. 37. These are the numbered men of the clans of the Kohathites, all that served in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to Yahwè's command [given] through Moses.

38. And the numbered men of the sons of Gershon by their clans, by their families, 39. from thirty years old and upwards to fifty, all that entered on service to work in the tent of meeting,—40. their men numbered by their clans, by their families were two thousand six hundred and thirty. 41. These were the numbered men of the clans of the sons of Gershon, all that served in the tent of meeting, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to Yahwè's command.

42. And the numbered men of the clans of the sons of Merari by their clans, by their families, 43. from thirty years old and upwards to fifty years, all that entered on service to work in the tent of meeting—44. their numbered men by their clans were three thousand, two hundred. 45. These were the numbered men of the clans of the sons of Merari, whom Moses and Aaron numbered according to Yahwè's command [given] through Moses.

46. All the numbered men whom Moses and Aaron and the princes of Israel numbered of the Levites by their clans and families 47. from thirty years old and upwards to fifty years, all that went for ministration [at the sacrifice] and for work in carrying in the tent of meeting,—48. their numbered men were eight thousand five hundred and eighty. 49. They were numbered

according to the command of Yahwè [given] through Moses each according to his service and his burden . . .¹ as Yahwè commanded Moses.

REMOVAL OF THE UNCLEAN. RESTITUTION IN CASE OF TRESPASS.
TRIAL OF WOMEN SUSPECTED OF ADULTERY.

V. 1.² *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Bid the children of Israel send forth from the camp every one that is leprous and every one that has a discharge and every one that is defiled by a corpse. 3. Whether male or female you shall send them forth: you shall send them forth without the camp lest they defile their camp, they in the midst of whom I dwell. 4. And the children of Israel did thus and sent them forth without the camp: as Yahwè spoke to Moses, so the children of Israel did.*

5. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 6. Speak to the children of

¹ 'His burden . . . as.' The text is admittedly corrupt. The Hebrew word omitted meaning 'and his numbered men' makes no sense here, nor has any plausible emendation been proposed. The following word 'as' instead of the Massoretic reading 'which' is given by Sam., LXX., and Pesh.

² V. 1—vi. 27. In those two chapters we have a series of laws which have little connection with each other, or with the context in which they occur. This indeed is not true of v. 1-4, for it is quite natural, now that the order of the camp has been constituted, to mention the cases which entail exclusion from it. Here, however, gonorrhea and contact with a corpse exclude an Israelite from the camp just as leprosy does, and this is a very distinct advance beyond the analogous legislation in Lev. xv. (comp. xiii. 46), and Num. xix., which impose exclusion only in the case of leprosy. The law of restitution, v. 5-10, agrees with Lev. v. (which is itself secondary) in requiring not only restitution of property unjustly held with the addition of a fifth, but also an accompanying sacrifice. It, however, goes further by reserving the restored property in case there is no legal owner, for the benefit of the officiating priest. The language, though generally that of P, has peculiarities of its own. The sacrifice is called 'a ram of propitiation' or 'atonement,' not 'ashām,' and 'āshām' instead of meaning a guilt offering is used for the debt or fine paid. The law for the ordeal of jealousy presupposes (see ver. 15) the law of the meal offering in Lev. xi., and this chapter is itself secondary. Similarly the Law of the Nazirite, vi. 1-21, is partly based on the secondary legislation in Lev. i.-vii. The Priestly Blessing, had it been original, would have come after Lev. ix. 23. So, and for the reasons given above and borrowed from them, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Cornill.

Israel, If any man or woman do commit any of the sins into which men fall, in that they dealt unfaithfully with Yahwè and their person incurs guilt, 7. then they shall confess their sin that they have done and each shall restore that which he holds wrongfully in full, adding a fifth thereto and shall give to him whom he has wronged. 8. But if the man has left no heir to whom the wrongful possession may be restored, the thing held wrongfully which is to be restored shall belong to Yahwè for the good of the priest besides the ram of propitiation wherewith propitiation shall be made for him. 9. And every portion offered, all the holy things of the children of Israel which they present to the priest, shall belong to him. 10. And as to each man's holy gifts they shall belong to him [the priest]: what each gives to the priest, shall be his.

11. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 12. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, If any man's wife go astray¹ and prove unfaithful to him, 13. and a man lie with her carnally, while it is hidden from her husband's eyes and she is undetected, although she has defiled herself and if there be no witness against her, because she is not taken [in the act], 14. and there come over him a spirit of jealousy, so that he is jealous of his wife, she having defiled herself, or if there come over him a spirit of jealousy, so that he is jealous of his wife, though she has not defiled herself, 15. then the man shall bring his wife to the priest and shall bring the requisite offering on her behalf, the tenth part of an ephah of barley meal: he shall pour no oil upon it or set frankincense thereon, for it is a meal offering of jealousy, a meal

¹ 'If any man's wife go astray.' The law as it stands is modern, but the usage is one of extreme antiquity. The 'holy water'—a phrase which occurs here only in the Hebrew Bible—meant originally water from a sacred or divine spring. The notion that a sacred stream will not suffer the presence of the impure was widely spread among Semitic as well as among other nations (see the abundant proof of this in Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, p. 164 seq.) and Ewald's *Alterthum*, p. 237, in 2nd ed., for analogous usages among savage races, e.g. the Negroes of West Africa. It was, of course, thought that actual drinking of the water involved extreme danger on the part of an impure person. Comp. Ps. cix. 18.

offering of remembrance, bringing iniquity to mind. 16. And the priest shall bring her near and make her stand before Yahwè. 17. And the priest shall take holy water in a holy vessel and the priest shall take some of the dust which is on the floor of the sanctuary and put it in the water. 18. And the priest shall place the woman before Yahwè and loose the woman's hair and put on her hands the meal offering of memorial that is the meal offering in cases of jealousy, but the water of bitter woe that brings a curse shall remain in the priest's hand. 19. Then the priest shall make her swear and shall say to the woman, If a man has not lain with thee and thou hast not, being bound to thy husband, gone aside to uncleanness, then let this water of bitter woe that brings a curse harm thee not. 20. But if being bound to thy husband thou hast gone astray and if thou hast defiled thyself, and if a man besides thy husband has had intercourse with thee. . . . 21. Then the priest shall adjure the woman with a solemn curse, and the priest shall say to the woman, May Yahwè make thee [a proverbial example] in oath and curse among thy people, inasmuch as Yahwè makes thy thigh fall away and thy belly swell, 22. and may these waters that bring a curse enter into thy bowels, making thy belly swell and thy thigh fall away: and the woman shall say amen and amen. 23. Then the priest shall write these curses on a page and wash them out into the water of bitter woe. 24. And he shall make the woman drink the water of bitter woe that brings a curse, that the water which brings a curse may penetrate her for bitter woe. 25. Next the priest shall take from the woman's hand the meal offering for jealousy and shall wave the meal offering before Yahwè and bring it to the altar. 26. Also the priest shall take a handful of the meal offering as the fragrant oblation [?] from it and let it rise in smoke from the altar, and afterwards he shall make the woman drink the water. 27. And when he has made her drink the water, it shall be¹ that if she has defiled herself and been treacherous to her husband, the water that brings a curse shall

¹ 'It shall be.' So Sam. and LXX.

penetrate her for bitter woe, so that her belly shall swell and her thigh fall away and that the woman shall become [a proverbial example for] a curse in the midst of her people. 28. But if the woman has not defiled herself and is pure, she shall be unharmed and can become pregnant.

29. This is the law in cases of jealousy when a woman being bound to her husband goes astray and defiles herself, 30. or if a spirit of jealousy come on a man so that he is jealous of his wife, he shall make her stand before Yahwè and the priest shall do to her all that is here enjoined. 31. And the man shall be free from guilt, but that woman shall bear her iniquity.

NAZIRITES.¹ THE PRIESTLY BLESSING.

VI. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to the*

¹ 'Nazirites.' P alone among the writers in the Hexateuch mentions them. The institution itself is ancient. It seems to have arisen after the settlement in Canaan from a religious and patriotic revulsion against the enervating and corrupting influence of Canaanite civilisation. The Nazirite, *i.e.* 'consecrated man,' restored in his own person the energy and purity of the old nomad life. He abstained from wine and grapes, because vineyards imply fixed abodes and are of course unknown to wanderers in the wilderness. He let his hair grow unshorn, probably because among primitive peoples the hair is regarded as an important seat of life, and the Nazirite was to devote himself to God whole and un mutilated. We may compare the ancient rule in the 'Book of the Covenant' that the stones of the altar were not to be touched by the chisel. The oldest example of a Nazirite is furnished by the legendary history of Samson; and it is noteworthy that he is the champion of Yahwè and his people against the Philistines. The LXX. in 1 Sam. i. 11 make Samuel a Nazirite, so far at least as this, that he practised life-long abstinence from wine; but here probably the words peculiar to the LXX. text have been interpolated. We have better ground for comparing the Rechabites with the Nazirites, and Amos ii. 11, 12 associates Nazirites with prophets. He seems to have thought of both as spiritual men whom Yahwè raised up, the prophets protesting by their words, the Nazirites by their example of abstinence, against surrounding sensuality. Here we have a decided advance upon the Nazirite ideal as portrayed in the history of Samson. The priestly lawgiver makes greater changes. With him the Nazirite's vow is temporary, not for life. It is open to women (vi. 2). Further, the ritual prescribed is of a late character. Lastly, the Nazirite is to guard himself sedulously against contact with a corpse. This rule would manifestly have been out of the question in the case of a Nazirite warrior like Samson.

children of Israel, and say to them, *If a man or woman shall make a special vow, the vow of a Nazirite, to set himself apart for Yahwè, 3. he must keep himself from wine and strong drink: he shall drink neither vinegar made from wine or vinegar made from strong drink, neither shall he drink any liquor made from grapes, and he shall eat neither fresh grapes nor dried. 4. All the time of his consecration he shall eat nothing that is made of the grape-vine, neither kernels nor skin [?]. 5. All the time of his vow of consecration no razor shall pass over his head: until the days are completed for which he has dedicated himself to Yahwè, he shall count as consecrated: he shall let the hair of his head go free. 6. All the time that he has set himself apart for Yahwè he shall not come near a dead body. 7. For his father or his mother, for his brother or sister—for them he shall not defile himself, if they die, for the consecration of his God is on his head. 8. All the time that he is set apart, he shall count as consecrated to Yahwè.*

9. But if any one die quite suddenly in his presence so that he defiles his consecrated head, then he shall shave his head on the day when he becomes pure: on the seventh day he shall shave it. 10. And on the eighth day he shall bring two turtle doves or two young pigeons to the priest at the entrance of the tent of meeting, 11. and the priest shall use one for a sin offering and one for a burnt offering and shall make propitiation for him because of his sin in respect of the dead, and on this day he shall consecrate his head, 12. and he shall set apart for Yahwè the time of his [original] consecration and shall bring a he-lamb one year old for a guilt offering, but the first time shall be null because his consecration was defiled.

13. And this is the law of the Nazirite: on the day that the time of his consecration is fulfilled, they shall bring him to the entrance of the tent of meeting, 14. and he shall make his oblation to Yahwè, one unblemished he-lamb of a year old for a burnt offering and one unblemished ewe-lamb of a year-old for a sin offering and one unblemished ram for a peace offering, 15. and a basket

of unleavened bread, consisting of fine flour in cakes mingled with oil and unleavened pancakes smeared with oil and their meal offering and drink offerings. 16. And the priest shall offer them before Yahwè and shall make the sin offering and burnt offering for him, 17. but of the ram he shall make a peace offering to Yahwè besides the basket of unleavened bread, and the priest shall make his meal offering and drink offering. 18. Then the Nazirite shall shave his consecrated head at the entrance of the tent of meeting and shall take the hair of his consecrated head and put it on the fire which is beneath the sacrifice of peace offering. 19. Also the priest shall take the cooked shoulder of the ram and one unleavened cake from the basket and one unleavened pancake and put them on the hands of the Nazirite, after he has shaved off his consecrated [hair], 20. and the priest shall wave them as a wave offering before Yahwè: it is a hallowed gift for the priest besides the breast that is waved and the thigh that is taken off as his portion. And afterwards the Nazirite may drink wine.

21. This is the law of the Nazirite who vows his oblation to Yahwè on account of his consecration besides what he can do [over and above]. According to his vow which he makes, so shall he do, following the rule for his consecration.

22. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 23. Speak to Aaron and his sons, saying, Thus shall you bless¹ the children of Israel, saying to them,

24. May Yahwè bless thee and keep thee :

25. May Yahwè make his face shine on thee and be gracious to thee :

26. May Yahwè lift up his face on thee and give thee peace.

27. So they shall put my name on the children of Israel that I may bless them.

¹ 'Thus shall you bless,' etc. This blessing, which has great poetical beauty, is in marked contrast with the dry and prosaic spirit of P. We have seen reason to think that the account of creation in P is not wholly original, and it is by no means unlikely that the words of the benediction are borrowed from some psalm otherwise unknown.

THE GIFTS AND OBLATIONS OF THE PRINCES¹

VII. 1. *Now it came to pass when Moses finished the erection of the tabernacle and had anointed it and consecrated it with all its furniture and the altar with all its furniture and had anointed them and consecrated them,* 2. *that the princes of Israel the heads of their kindred made their offering: they were the heads of the tribes, set over the men that were numbered.* 3. *And they brought their oblation before Yahwè, six covered wagons and twelve oxen, a wagon for every two princes and an ox for each and they brought them before the tabernacle.* 4. *And Yahwè said thus to Moses,* 5. *Take them from them that they may serve for doing the work of the tent of meeting and thou shalt give them to the Levites in proportion to the work assigned to each.* 6. *So Moses took the wagons and the oxen and gave them to the Levites,* 7. *two wagons and the four oxen he gave to the sons of Gershon in proportion to their work ;* 8. *and he gave four wagons and eight oxen to the sons of Merari in proportion to their work under the direction of Ithamar son of Aaron the priest.* 9. *But he gave none to the sons of Kohath, for to them the care of the [most] holy things was committed: they carried them on their shoulders.*

10. *Now the princes brought a dedication gift for the altar on the day it was anointed and the princes brought their oblation before the altar.* 11. *And Yahwè said to Moses, Day after day a single prince shall bring his oblation for the dedication of the altar.*

¹ 'The gifts and oblations of the princes.' On the secondary character of this chapter there is general agreement. Dillmann points out that the events of this chapter are placed on the day that Moses erected the tabernacle, and that consequently the description of them ought to have come immediately after Exod. xl. He thinks it probable that the chapter has been not only misplaced but expanded, since it presupposes the names and order of the princes as given in Num. i.-iv., goes beyond the arrangements mentioned there by providing the Gershonites and Merarites with wagons, and finally, exhibits an excess of wearisome reiteration which is not usual in P. Wellh., Kuenen, etc., come to the same conclusion, but more decidedly.

12. *Now he that made his oblation the first day was Nahshon the son of Amminadab of the tribe of Judah, 13. and his oblation was one silver dish, weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels] one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both filled with fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 14. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 15. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 16. one he-goat for a sin offering, 17. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Nahshon son of Amminadab.*

18. *On the second day Nethanel the son of Zuar, prince of Issachar made his oblation. 19. He brought as his oblation one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both filled with fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 20. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 21. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 22. one he-goat for a sin offering, 23. and for a sacrifice of peace offering two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Nethanel the son of Zuar.*

24. *On the third day the prince of the sons of Zebulun, Eliab the son of Helon. 25. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty shekels, one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mingled with oil for a meal offering, 26. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 27. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 28. one he-goat for a sin offering, 29. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Eliab the son of Helon.*

30. *On the fourth day the prince of the sons of Reuben, Elizur son of Shedeur. 31. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 32. one golden saucer of ten [shekels], full of incense, 33. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt*

offering, 34. one he-goat for a sin offering, 35. and for a sacrifice of peace offerings, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Elizur the son of Shedeur.

36. On the fifth day the prince of the sons of Simeon Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai. 37. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy [shekels] by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 38. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 39. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 40. one he-goat for a sin offering, 41. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai.

42. On the sixth day the prince of the children of Gad, Eliasaph the son of Deuel. 43. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy [shekels] by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 44. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 45. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 46. one he-goat for a sin offering, 47. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Eliasaph the son of Deuel.

48. On the seventh day the prince of the children of Ephraim, Elishama son of Ammihud. 49. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 50. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 51. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 52. one he-goat for a sin offering, 53. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Elishama the son of Ammihud.

54. On the eighth day the prince of the children of Manasseh, Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur. 55. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of

seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 56. one golden saucer of ten [shekels], full of incense, 57. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 58. one he-goat for a sin offering, 59. and for as a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur.

60. On the ninth day the prince of the children of Benjamin, Abidan the son of Gideoni. 61. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 62. one golden saucer of ten [shekels] full of incense, 63. one bullock a year old, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 64. one he-goat for a sin offering, 65. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Abidan the son of Gideoni.

66. On the tenth day the prince of the children of Dan, Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai. 67. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 68. one golden saucer of ten [shekels], full of incense, 69. one bullock a year old, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 70. one he-goat for a sin offering, 71. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai.

72. On the eleventh day the prince of the children of Asher, Pagiél the son of Ochran. 73. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 74. one golden saucer of ten [shekels], full of incense, 75. one bullock a year old, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 76. one he-goat for a sin offering, 77. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five

he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Pagiel the son of Ochrán.

78. *On the twelfth day the prince of the children of Naphtali, Ahira the son of Enan. 79. His oblation was one silver dish weighing a hundred and thirty [shekels], one silver bowl of seventy shekels by the sacred standard, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meal offering, 80. one golden saucer of ten [shekels], full of incense, 81. one young bullock, one ram, one he-lamb a year old for a burnt offering, 82. one he-goat for a sin offering, 83. and for a sacrifice of peace offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, five he-lambs a year old. This was the oblation of Ahira the son of Enan.*

84. *These were the [gifts for] dedication of the altar on the day it was anointed from the princes of Israel, twelve silver dishes, twelve silver bowls, twelve golden saucers, 85. each dish a hundred and thirty [shekels] of silver and each bowl seventy: all the silver of the vessels came to two thousand, four hundred [shekels] by the sacred standard: 86. twelve golden saucers full of incense, each ten [shekels] by the sacred standard: all the gold of the saucers came to a hundred and twenty [shekels]: 87. all the cattle for the burnt offering were twelve bullocks, twelve rams, twelve he-lambs a year old with their meal offering and twelve he-goats for a sin offering. 88. And all the cattle of the sacrifice of peace offering were twenty-four bullocks, sixty rams, sixty he-goats, sixty he-lambs a year old. These were the [gifts for the] dedication of the altar on the day it was anointed.*

89. *Now when Moses entered the tent of meeting to speak with him, he heard the voice speaking with him from above the covering slab which was over the ark of the testimony from between the two cherubim: so he spoke to him.*

CARE OF THE CANDLESTICK. CONSECRATION OF THE LEVITES.¹

VIII. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to Aaron*

¹ 'Care of the candlestick. Consecration of the Levites,' ch. viii. The whole of this chapter seems to be secondary. The first four verses on the care

and say to him, *When thou settest up the lamps, let the seven lamps cast their light in front of the candlestick.* 3. *So therefore Aaron did: in front of the candlestick he set up its lights, as Yahwè had commanded Moses.* 4. *Now this was the workmanship of the candlestick, beaten work of gold, from its base to its flowers¹ it was beaten work: according to the pattern which Yahwè showed Moses, so he made the candlestick.*

5. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 6. *Take the Levites from among the children of Israel and cleanse them.* 7. *And thus shalt thou do to them for their cleansing: sprinkle on them water for sin and pass a razor over all their body and let them wash their garments and cleanse themselves.* 8. *Then shall they take a young bullock with the corresponding meat offering, fine flour mixed with oil, and thou shalt take another young bullock for a sin offering.* 9. *And thou shalt bring the Levites before the tent of meeting and*

of the candlestick are an amplification of rules already laid down in Exod. xxvii. 20 *seq.* and Lev. xxiv. 1-4. Dillm. admits that the passage before us has been removed from its original place and that ver. 4 is of later date. Wellh., Kuen., and Cornill regard all the four verses as of one piece.

In 5-22 we have the ritual for the consecration of the Levites, who are first cleansed, rather after the analogy of lepers than priests, and then waved before the altar, in servile conformity to the rule for 'holy' gifts, *i.e.* such as were not offered on the altar but fell to the priests. It goes far beyond the comparatively simple view found in iii. 5-13. The elements supplied by P have been worked up in the most mechanical fashion. More than one hand seems to have been busy here. In ver. 21 it is Aaron; according to ver. 13 it is Moses who swings the Levites.

The last three verses, 23-26, are held not only by Wellh., Kuen., Corn., etc., but also by Dillm. to be a later addition to P. According to Num. iv. the Levites are to serve from thirty to fifty years of age: here they are to enter upon their duties at twenty-five, and though they are to retire from full service at fifty, they may do light work even when older. In Ezr. iii. 8 the service of the Levites begins at twenty years of age. The chronicler by a characteristic anachronism tells us that David lowered the age of entrance on service from thirty to twenty years (1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 24 *seq.*) and that in Hezekiah's time (2 Chron. xxxi. 17) this modification of the old rule was still in force. Evidently the different strata of P here, as elsewhere, reflect the practice of different times. If ch. iv. be, as is possible, an original part of P, the last verses of this chapter cannot fail to be later.

¹ 'Flowers.' The Massoretic text has the singular. The plural is attested by Sam. and LXX., and is in conformity with the language of P elsewhere.

shalt gather together the whole congregation of the children of Israel. 10. And thou shalt bring the Levites before Yahwè, and the children of Israel shall lay their hands on the Levites, 11. and Aaron shall wave the Levites as a wave offering before Yahwè from the children of Israel, that they may do Yahwè's work. 12. And the Levites shall lay their hands on the heads of the oxen, and do thou make one a sin offering and the other a burnt offering for Yahwè to make propitiation for the Levites. 13. And thou shalt set the Levites before Aaron and his sons, and shalt wave them as a wave offering before Yahwè, 14. and thou shalt separate the Levites from the children of Israel that they may be mine. 15. And afterwards the Levites shall go in to work in the tent of meeting, and thou shalt cleanse them and wave them as a wave offering, 16. for they are given over utterly to me from the Israelites. I have taken them for myself instead of all that first opens the womb, all the firstborn¹ of the children of Israel, 17. for all the firstborn among the children of Israel are mine, whether of man or cattle: when I smote all firstborn in Egypt, I consecrated them to myself. 18. And I took the Levites instead of all firstborn among the children of Israel, 19. And I gave the Levites to Aaron and his sons as assigned to them from the midst of the children of Israel to perform the service of the the children of Israel in the tent of meeting and to make propitiation for the children of Israel, that a plague break not out on the children of Israel when the children of Israel approach the holy place. 20. So Moses and Aaron and all the congregation of Israel did to the Levites according to all that Yahwè commanded Moses with respect to the Levites: so the children of Israel did to them. 21. And the Levites purged themselves from sin and washed their garments, and Aaron waved them as a wave offering before Yahwè, and Aaron made propitiation for their cleansing. 22. And afterwards the Levites went in to perform their service in the tent of

¹ 'All the firstborn.' This translation necessitates a slight change in the order of the Hebrew words, as they stand in the Massoretic text. The order given here has the support of the Sam. and is generally adopted.

meeting before Aaron and his sons: as Yahwè commanded Moses concerning the Levites, so they did to them.

23. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 24. This is the rule for the Levites, from five and twenty years of age and upwards they shall come in to serve in their ranks for the work in the tent of meeting. 25. But after fifty years of age each shall withdraw from taking his place in the work and shall not labour any more. 26. He may help his brethren in the tent of meeting in looking after things, but he shall do no work. So shalt thou do to the Levites in the business intrusted to them.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY PASSOVER.¹ THE PILLAR OF THE CLOUD.

IX. 1. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses in the wilderness of Sinai on the first month in the second year of their exodus from the land of Egypt, saying, 2. The Israelites shall keep the Passover at its appointed time; 3. on the fourteenth day of this month towards evening shall you keep it at its appointed time: you shall keep it according to all the statutes and judgments pertaining thereto. 4. So Moses said to the children of Israel that they were to keep the Passover. 5. And they kept the Passover in the first month on the fourteenth day towards evening in the wilderness of Sinai: according to all that Yahwè commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did.

6. But there were men who had been defiled by [contact with] a corpse, so that they could not keep the Passover on that day, and they drew near before Moses and Aaron on that day. 7. Then these men said to him, We are defiled by [contact with] a corpse: why should we be cut off so as not to make the oblation to Yahwè at its appointed time among the children of Israel? 8. And Moses said to them, Wait that I may hear what Yahwè will

¹ 'The Supplementary Passover,' vv. 1-14. The law here given does not belong to the original framework of P. It places us in the first month of the second year, whereas in Num. i. 1 we have already reached the second month. It is an afterthought designed to supplement Exod. xii. Comp. Lev. xxiv. 10-16, also a law in the garb of a narrative, and Num. xv. 32-36, xxxi.

command with regard to you. 9. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 10. Speak to the children of Israel, saying, *If any man of you or of your descendants be defiled by [contact with] a corpse or be on a distant journey, he shall [still] keep a Passover to Yahwè.* 11. *They shall keep it in the second month on the fourteenth day towards evening: with unleavened bread and bitter herbs they shall eat it.* 12. *They shall leave none of it over till morning, nor shall they break a bone thereof: according to all the statute of the Passover they shall keep it.* 13. *But if a man being clean and not on a journey omits the keeping of the Passover, that person shall be cut off from the men of his people, because he has not made the oblation of Yahwè at its due time: that man shall bear his sin.*

14. *And if a settler be settled among you and keep a Passover to Yahwè, according to the statute of the Passover and its ritual, so shall he do, you shall have one statute for the settler and for the native of the land.*

15. Now on the day they set up the tabernacle the cloud¹ covered the tabernacle, that is, the tent of the testimony, and in the evening it hung over the tabernacle like shining fire till the morning. 16. So it was continually: the cloud covered it and shining fire by night. 17. And just as the cloud rose from above the tent, then after that the children of Israel moved forward, and where the cloud rested, there the children of Israel encamped. 18. At the bidding of Yahwè the children of Israel moved forward and at Yahwè's bidding they encamped: all the day that the cloud rested over the tabernacle, they remained encamped. 19. And when the cloud tarried over the tabernacle many days, the children of Israel used to observe Yahwè's order and did not move forward. 20. Sometimes also the cloud

¹ 'The cloud.' The idea here expressed, *viz.*, that the rising of the cloud was the divine signal for advance, the ark moving forward in the midst of the camp, is quite opposed to the view of the older documents. According to the Jahvist, Num. x. 29, Hobab is asked by his father-in-law, Moses, to guide the children of Israel in the wilderness. The ark goes, not in the centre of the Israelites, but in front of them. See vol. i. p. 159 *seq.* and Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, p. 171 *seq.*

rested only a few days over the tabernacle : at Yahwè's bidding they encamped, and at Yahwè's bidding they moved forward. 21. Sometimes too the cloud was there from evening to morning and rose in the morning, so that they moved forward then : or the cloud rose after a day and a night, so that they moved forward then. 22. Or for two days or a month or longer, while the cloud tarried over the tabernacle resting over it, the children of Israel remained encamped without moving forward, but when it rose they moved forward. 23. At Yahwè's bidding they used to encamp and at Yahwè's bidding to move forward : they kept Yahwè's ordinance according to Yahwe's word through Moses.

THE SILVER TRUMPETS. THE DEPARTURE FROM SINAI.

X. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Make thee two silver trumpets, of beaten work shalt thou make them, that they may serve for summoning the congregation and when the camps break up. 3. When they sound them, all the congregation shall gather for thee at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 4. And if they sound one, the princes, the chiefs of the clans of Israel, shall come to meet thee. 5. But if you sound a full blast, the parts of the camp which have pitched their tents on the east shall move forward. 6. If you blow a second blast, the parts of the camp which have pitched their tents on the south shall move forward : they shall blow a blast, whenever they are to move forward. 7. But when you convoke the assembly, you shall sound without blowing a full blast. 8. And the sons of Aaron, the priests, shall sound the trumpets, and their use shall be a perpetual statute for you throughout your generations. 9. And when you enter into battle in your land against the foe that presses on you, you shall blow an alarm with the trumpets, that you may bring yourselves to remembrance before Yahwè your God and may be saved from your enemies. 10. Also on your days of joy and your feasts and first days of the month you shall sound with your trumpets by your burnt offerings and

peace offerings, and they shall serve as a memorial of you before Yahwè: I am Yahwè your God.

11. Now it came to pass in the second year, in the second month, on the twentieth of the month, that the cloud rose from over the tabernacle of the testimony. 12. And the children of Israel set out from the wilderness of Sinai in successive divisions, and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran. 13. So they moved forward for the first time at the word of Yahwè through Moses. 14. And the banner of the camp of the children of Judah moved first in their ranks with Nahshon son of Amminadab over its array: 15. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Issachar was Nethanel the son of Zuar: 16. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Zebulun was Eliab the son of Helon. 17. Then when the tabernacle had been taken down, the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari moved forward, carrying the tabernacle. 18. Next the banner of the camp of Reuben moved forward in their ranks, with Elizur the son of Shedeur: 19. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Simeon was Shelumiel the son of Zurishaddai: 20. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Gad was Eliasaph the son of Deuel. 21. Then the Kohathites set out carrying the [most] holy things, and [the other Levites] erected the tabernacle against their coming. 22. Next the banner of the camp of the children of Ephraim moved forward in their ranks, with Elishama the son of Ammihud over their array: 23. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Manasseh was Gamaliel the son of Pedahzur: 24. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Benjamin was Abidan the son of Gideoni. 25. Then the standard of the camp of the children of Dan moved forward closing the rear of all the [other] camps in their ranks: and over their host was Ahiezer the son of Ammishaddai: 26. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Asher was Pagiel the son of Ochran: 27. and over the host of the tribe of the children of Naphtali was Ahira the son of Enan. 28. In this order the children of Israel marched forth in their ranks.

THE SENDING OF THE SPIES.¹

XIII. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Send the men to spy out the land of Canaan which I am giving to the children of Israel: you shall send one man for each tribe of their fathers, every one a prince among them. 3. So Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran according to Yahwè's word, all of them men who were chiefs of the children of Israel. 4. Now these were their names, of the tribe of Reuben, Shammua the son of Zaccur, 5. of the tribe of Simeon, Shaphat the son of Hori, 6. of the tribe of Judah, Caleb the son of Jephunneh, 7. of the tribe of Issachar, Igal the son of Joseph, 8. of the tribe of Ephraim, Hoshea the son of Nun, 9. of the tribe of Benjamin, Palti the son of Raphu, 10. of the tribe of Zebulun, Gaddiel the son of Sodi, 11. of the tribe of Joseph, [namely] from the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi, 12. of the tribe of Dan,

¹ 'The sending of the spies.' Contrast the parallel account in the 'Older Book,' vol. i. p. 164. There the spies only go as far as Hebron in the south of Judah; here they go through the whole land of Palestine from end to end. There the spies report that the land is excellent and give a sample of its fruitfulness, in the enormous bunch of grapes which they bring from Eshcol: only they drive the people to despair by the account of its gigantic inhabitants and strong defences. Here no mention is made of the inhabitants, who are indeed treated as non-existent: it is the land itself which the spies calumniate, as one which eats up those who dwell in it. There Caleb as the loyal and faithful spy stills the people, while Joshua is not mentioned: here Joshua and Caleb are both prominent. Here moreover we are told that Joshua, mentioned now for the first time in P, was formerly called Hoshea, whereas the name Joshua occurs at an earlier period in the older documents.

It is therefore an easy task to separate P from the other documents, and we have additional help in the clear marks of his style and thought, which abound in the narrative attributed to him by the universal consent of critics. Such are 'congregation,' the word used for 'spy,' the glory of Yahwè appearing at the tent of meeting, Paran as the starting-place, 'Moses and Aaron,' etc., etc. There is some difficulty about the first three verses of ch. xiv., where the account of P is mixed with that of the older documents. The view of these verses which I have taken here differs slightly from that adopted in vol. i. I am also now inclined to follow Dillm., Kautzsch, and Bacon in assigning xiv. 30-33, or at least 31-33, to one of the older writers, probably the Jahvist.

Ammiel the son of Gemalli, 13. of the tribe of Asher, Sethur the son of Michael, 14. of the tribe of Naphtali, Nahbi the son of Vophsi, 15. of the tribe of Gad, Geuel the son of Machi. 16. These are the names of the men Moses sent to spy out the land: and Moses called Hoshea the son of Nun Joshua. 17^a. And Moses sent them to spy out the land of Canaan.

21. So they went up and spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob in the direction of Hamath. 25. And they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days. 26^a. And they came to Moses and Aaron and all the congregation of the children of Israel in the wilderness of Paran; 32^a and they made a bad report of the land which they had spied out, to the children of Israel, saying, The land through which we have travelled to spy it out is a land that consumes its inhabitants. XIV. 1^a. Then all the congregation lifted up their voice in loud cry; 2. and all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron, and all the congregation said to them, Would that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would that we had died in this wilderness. 5. Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembled congregation of the children of Israel, 6. and Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh rent their garments, 7. and said thus to all the congregation of the children of Israel, As for the land through which we have passed to spy it out, it is a land most exceedingly good. 10. And as all the congregation were on the point of stoning them with stones, the glory of Yahwè appeared at the tent of meeting to all the children of Israel. 26. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying, 27. How long will this evil congregation dare to murmur against me? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel wherewith they murmur against me. 28. Say to them, As surely as I live, it is the oracle of Yahwè, just as you have spoken in my ears, so will I do to you. 29. Your corpses shall fall in this wilderness and all your numbered men one and all from twenty years old and upwards, you that have murmured against me.

34. According to the number of the days during which you spied out the land, forty days each day reckoned as a year, you shall bear your iniquities for forty years and shall know what it is to be spurned by me. 35. I Yahwè have spoken: of a surety I will do so to all this evil congregation, those that have gathered against me; in this desert shall they be brought to an end and there shall they die. 36. But as for the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land, and who on their return made the whole congregation murmur against him by uttering an evil report against the land, 37. the men that uttered an evil report of the land died by a stroke before Yahwè. 38. But Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh remained alive of those men that went to spy out the land.

THE MEAL OFFERING¹ AND THE DRINK OFFERING. THE FIRST OF THE GROATS. SACRIFICE FOR SIN OF IGNORANCE. THE SABBATH-BREAKER PUNISHED.

XV. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to the*

¹ 'The meal offering,' etc. ch. xv. A good deal is to be said for Wellhausen's opinion, to which Kuenen is inclined, that the whole of this chapter has been compiled by the same hand which edited (but did not write) the 'Law of Holiness,' Lev. xvii.—xxvi. Wellh. points out that the story of the Sabbath-breaker, 32-36, is constructed on the same plan as that of the blasphemer in Lev. xxiv. 10-14, 23, that the introductory form in vv. 2 and 18, 'When you enter the land,' etc., 'which I am giving you,' reminds one of Deut. and of Lev. xix. 23, xxiii. 10, xxv. 2, that in ver. 31, the hortatory tone differs from the usual manner of P. This reasoning is confirmed by the strong probability (admitted by Kuen.), and more decidedly by Driver and Cornill) that in the law of fringes, 37-41, we have an actual fragment of the 'Law of Holiness.' Notice the divine 'I,' in reference to 'holiness' as a motive, and the connection with Deut. xxii. 12. As the chapter gives a series of laws unconnected with the main thread of P, it must have been added later to the original framework of the law. But the substance of the laws seems to be of various dates. Thus 1-16 is of late character. It regulates the exact proportions of the meal offering, which Lev. iv. leaves open. So 32-36 with its exaggerated views on the Sabbath and its resemblance to Lev. xxiv. 10-14, 23 (see the note there) is probably late. On the other hand the law on the firstlings of the groats, 17-21, agrees with Ezek. xlv. 28-30, and may therefore be older than P, though a later addition to his text. In 22-31, the law on sacrifice for sins of ignorance, we may have a displaced fragment of the

children of Israel and say to them, *When you enter the land of your homes, which I am giving you, 3. and make a fire offering to Yahwè whether burnt offering or a sacrifice in fulfilment of a vow, or as a freewill offering, or at your appointed times, to make a sweet odour to Yahwè from [a sacrifice of] large or small cattle, 4. then he who makes his oblation to Yahwè shall offer as a meal offering the tenth [of an ephah] of fine flour mixed with the fourth of a hin of oil: 5. and thou shalt make ready for the libation at the burnt offering or [other] sacrifice the fourth of a hin of wine for each lamb. 6. Or in the case of a ram thou shalt make ready as a meal offering two tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour mixed with the third of a hin of oil, 7. and thou shalt offer the third of a hin of wine for the libation as a sweet odour to Yahwè. 8. But if thou make ready a young bullock as a burnt offering or sacrifice in fulfilment of a vow or as peace offerings, 9. one shall offer with the young bullock as a meal offering three tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour mixed with half a hin of oil, 10. and thou shalt offer half a hin of wine for the libation, a fire offering of sweet odour to Yahwè. 11. Thus shall be done in the case of a single ox or ram or he-lamb or kid. 12. According to the number which you prepare, so shall you do for each according to their number. 13. All natives born shall do thus in these matters, when they present a fire offering of sweet odour to Yahwè. 14. And if a settler be settled among you, or if there be one who lives permanently among you, and they make a fire offering of sweet odour to Yahwè, they shall do just as you do. 15. With regard to the [whole] assembly there shall be one statute for you and for the settler who is settled [among you]: it shall be a perpetual statute throughout your generations before Yahwè for the settler as well as for yourselves. 16. One law shall there be and one rule for yourselves and for the settler that is settled among you.*

original P. Certainly the law seems to be comparatively ancient. As Benzinger points out (*Z.A.W.* ix. p. 87), no special ritual is prescribed for the sin offering of the people, as distinct from that of an individual. Nothing is said about the manipulation of the blood, on which much stress is laid in later strata of P. Contrast Lev. iv.

17. Also Yahwè spoke with Moses, saying, 18. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, When you go into the land whereto I am bringing you, 19. it shall be that when you eat the bread of the land, you shall reserve a portion for Yahwè. 20. As the firstling of your groats you shall reserve a cake as a portion ; like the portion from the threshing-floor, so shall you reserve it. 21. From the firstlings of your groats you shall give it to Yahwè as a portion throughout your generations.

22. But when by error you fail to do any of these commandments which Yahwè has spoken to Moses, 23. all that Yahwè has commanded you through Moses from the day that Yahwè gave commandment and onwards throughout your generations, 24. it shall be, if something has been done without the knowledge of the congregation by error, that all the congregation shall make ready one young bullock for a burnt offering for a sweet odour to Yahwè besides its meal offering and libation as by rule and one he-goat as a sin offering. 25. And the priest shall make propitiation for all the congregation of the children of Israel and they shall be forgiven, because it was an oversight and they have brought their oblation a fire offering to Yahwè and their sin offering for their error. 26. So all the congregation of the children of Israel and the settler that is settled in the midst of them shall be forgiven, since it happened to all the people by oversight. 27. But if one individual sin by mistake, then he shall bring a she-goat one year old for a sin offering. 28. And the priest shall make propitiation for the person who has erred by sinning inadvertently before Yahwè, so as to make propitiation for him that he may be forgiven. 29. As to him that is native born among the children of Israel and for the settler settled in the midst of you, you shall have one law with respect to him who does anything in error. 30. But as for the person who acts with a high hand, be he native or settler, he insults Yahwè : that person shall be cut off from the midst of his people, 31. since he has contemned Yahwè's word and has broken his commandment, that person shall be utterly cut off : his iniquity shall rest upon him.

32. *Now when the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man gathering sticks on the sabbath day.* 33. *Then they that found him gathering sticks brought him before Moses and Aaron and all the congregation.* 34. *And they put him in ward, since it had not been distinctly determined what was to be done to him.* 35. *And Yahwè said to Moses, The man shall surely be put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones outside of the camp.* 36. *So all the congregation led him outside the camp and stoned him with stones till he died, as Yahwè commanded Moses.*

37. *Also Yahwè said thus to Moses,* 38. *Speak to the children of Israel and say to them that they make a fringe on the edges of their garments throughout their generations and they shall put a blue thread on the fringe of the edge.* 39. *And it shall serve you as a fringe, and when you see it you shall remember all Yahwè's commandments to do them. Neither shall you wander after your heart and eyes, after which you go whoring,* 40. *that you may remember and do all my commandments, and be holy for your God.* 41. *I am Yahwè your God, who brought you forth from the land of Egypt to be a God for you. I am Yahwè your God.*

THE REBELLION OF KORAH.¹

XVI. 1. Now Korah the son of *Izhar the son of Kohath the*

¹ 'The rebellion of Korah,' ch., xvi. xvii. The rebellion of Dathan and Abiram the Reubenites against the secular authority of Moses is told in the older documents, as given in vol. i. p. 168. The reader should supplement the remarks there made from Bacon's *Triple Story of the Exodus*, p. 193 *seq.* Here we have to deal with another story, *viz.*, the rebellion of Korah, not Dathan and Abiram, against the religious, not the secular, authority of Moses and Aaron. But Kuenen has demonstrated that, when the older elements are removed from ch. xvi., xvii., two strata still remain. First we have an account which is obviously the earlier of the two, and, as it is written throughout in his style, belongs, no doubt, to the original framework of P. Korah, according to this account, was not a Levite (see note on Numb. xxvii. 3), but on the contrary led a rebel troop of two hundred and fifty men who rose against the Levites on the ground that the whole congregation was holy. They

son of Levi, 2. rose up before Moses with two hundred and fifty men of the children of Israel princes of the congregation, counsellors, 3. and they gathered themselves together against Moses and Aaron and said to them, We have had enough of you, for the whole congregation, all its numbers, are holy and Yahwè is in the midst of them :¹ why then do you exalt yourselves against the assembly of Yahwè? 4. When Moses heard, he fell on his face, 5. and spoke to Korah and all his company, saying, In the morning Yahwè will show who belong to him and who is holy that he bring such near to himself; and him that he chooses he will bring near to himself. 6. Do this: take you firepans, Korah and all his company, 7. and put fire therein and place therein incense before Yahwè to-morrow; and it shall be that the man Yahwè chooses shall be counted holy. Enough of you, *you sons of Levi*. 8. *And Moses said to Korah, Hear, I pray, you sons of Levi*. 9. *Is it too little for you that the God of Israel has singled you out from the congregation of Israel to bring you close to himself, to do the work of Yahwè's tabernacle, to stand before the congregation to minister to them*, 10. *and brought thee near and all thy brethren the sons of Levi with thee, and do you seek the priesthood also?* 11. *Therefore thou and all thy company are the men that gather themselves together against Yahwè, for what*

presume to offer incense, and in consequence are consumed by fire. Many other Israelites (14,700) die of plague, which is finally stayed by Aaron's offering of incense. Afterwards staves inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes are placed by Yahwè's order in the sanctuary, and Aaron's rod, inscribed with the name of Levi, puts forth buds and flowers.

The secondary account, belonging of course to the school of P, makes Korah a Levite, who with his followers claims the priesthood for the Levites as a whole. Wellh. points out that P, while he assumes the sharp distinction between Levite and priest unknown to Deuteronomy, still represents the higher and lower clergy of Mosaic times as living in ideal unity (see Numb. xviii. 23, as an indication of his tone with respect to the Levites). But the writer who has grafted the later on the earlier story throws jealousies with which he may have been familiar by experience back into the primitive age of Israel's history.

¹ 'And Yahwè is in the midst of them.' Dillm. and Bacon, perhaps rightly, assign these words to the Jahvist.

is Aaron that you murmur against him? 16. And Moses¹ said to Korah, Be thou and all thy troop before Yahwè, thou and they and Aaron to-morrow. 17. And do you take each his firepan and put thereon incense and do each of you bring his firepan near before Yahwè, two hundred and fifty firepans: also thou and Aaron each his firepan. 18. So each took his firepan and put fire thereon and set incense thereon and stood at the entrance of the tent of meeting, also Moses and Aaron. 19. And Korah gathered against them all the company to the entrance of the tent of meeting: then the glory of Yahwè appeared to all the congregation, 20. and Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, 21. Separate yourselves from this congregation that I may consume them in a moment. 22. But they fell on their faces and said, O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, shall one man sin and thou be wroth with all the congregation? 23. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 24. Speak to the congregation, saying, Get up from about the tabernacle.² 26. So he spoke to the congregation, saying, . . . 27^a. So they got up from the tabernacle, 35. and fire came forth from Yahwè and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered the incense before Yahwè, 32^b. even all the men³ that followed Korah and all their goods.

XVII. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Speak to Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, that he take up the firepans from among the burning and scatter thou the fire afar. 3. For

¹ 'And Moses,' etc. Vv. 16, 17 are a mere repetition of vv. 6, 7 by the interpolator. In the preceding verse I previously followed Kuen. in assigning the former half, 'Respect not thou their offering,' to P. Wellh. in 1889 still adheres to this view (*Hexat. u. Histor. Bb. Nachtrág.*, p. 340), but I do not feel any longer sure that it can be maintained. Dillm. and Bacon assign the half verse to the Jahvist.

² 'The tabernacle of Yahwè.' The text has 'The tabernacle of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.' But tabernacle (*mishkan*) is never used in prose for a human dwelling. Plainly, the text as it stands is due to the final editor of the Pentateuch, who strove in this violent way to weld the different narratives together. The former half of ver. 27 has been altered on the same principle.

³ 'Even all the men,' etc. This verse is a fragment of uncertain origin in the style of P, and I have placed it here on conjecture.

the firepans¹ of these men that have sinned against their own lives are confiscated to the sanctuary: let them be beaten into plates as a covering for the altar, since they presented them before Yahwè so that they fell to the sanctuary: thus shall they be a sign to the children of Israel. 4. And Eleazar the priest took the firepans of bronze which the men that were burnt presented and they beat them flat as a covering for the altar, 5. to be a remembrance for the children of Israel, lest any stranger who is not of Aaron's seed should draw near to offer incense before Yahwè and fare as Korah and his company did according to that which Yahwè had spoken to him through Moses.

6. But all the congregation of the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron on the morrow, saying, You have slain Yahwè's people. 7. And it came to pass when the congregation was gathered together against Moses and Aaron that they turned to the tent of meeting, and, behold, the cloud covered it, and Yahwè's glory appeared. 8. And Moses and Aaron went in front of the tent of meeting. 9. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 10. Withdraw from this congregation that I may consume them in a moment. Then they fell on their faces. 11. And Moses said to Aaron, Take the firepan and put thereon fire from the altar, and lay on incense and bring it quickly into the congregation and make propitiation for them, since wrath has gone forth from Yahwè: the plague has begun. 12. So Aaron took [the firepan] as Moses had bidden and ran among the assembly, and, behold, the plague had begun among the people, but he put in the incense and made propitiation for the people. 13. Thus he stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed. 14. But they that died of the plague were fourteen thousand, seven hundred, besides those that died in Korah's affair. 15. Then Aaron returned to Moses at the entrance of the tent of meeting, and the plague was stayed.

¹ 'For the firepans.' The text has been corrected from the LXX. reading preserved in the Italar. So Dillm. and Kautzsch.

16. And Yahwè spoke with Moses, saying, 17. Speak to the children of Israel and take from them a rod for each tribe¹ from all their princes that are over their tribes, twelve rods: thou shalt write the name of each on his rod. 18. And thou shalt write Aaron's name on the rod of Levi, since there is one rod for the head of a tribe. 19. And leave them in the tent of meeting before the testimony where I meet you. 20. And it shall be that the rod of the man whom I choose shall sprout: so shall I still and rid myself of the murmurings of the children of Israel wherewith they murmur against you. 21. So Moses spoke to the children of Israel, and all their princes gave him a rod for each prince, as representing their tribes, twelve rods [in all], and Aaron's rod was in the midst of theirs. 22. And Moses laid down the rods before Yahwè in the tent of the testimony. 23. And when on the morrow Moses entered the tent of the testimony, behold, Aaron's rod representing the house of Levi had sprouted and had budded and blossomed and produced ripe almonds. 24. And Moses brought all the rods from the presence of Yahwè before all the children of Israel, and they saw them and took each his rod. 25. And Yahwè said to Moses, Put back Aaron's rod in front of the testimony to be kept as a sign for rebellious men, that their murmurings may cease to burden me and that they may not die. 26. Then Moses, as Yahwè had commanded him, so did he. 27. But the children of Israel spoke to Moses, saying, Behold, we are undone, we are lost all of us, we are lost. 28. Every one that draws near, he that draws near to the tabernacle of Yahwè will die. Are we to perish one and all?

DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF PRIESTS AND LEVITES.²

XVIII. 1. And Yahwè said to Aaron, Thou and thy sons and

¹ 'Each tribe,' the Hebrew expression is literally 'father's house,' here, as the context shows, used in a wide sense as equivalent to 'tribe.'

² 'Duties and rights of the priests and Levites.' This chapter is closely connected with the end of the last chapter, xvii. 27, 28. There the Israelites are afraid that nearness to the sanctuary will be fatal to them. Here Yahwè

thy tribe with thee shall be responsible for guilt in connection with the sanctuary, and thou and thy sons with thee shall be responsible for guilt in connection with your priesthood. 2. But do thou bring near with thee thy brethren, the tribe of Levi, thine ancestral race, that they may attach themselves to thee and minister to thee, while thou and thy sons with thee are before the tent of the testimony. 3. And they shall carefully perform the service required for thee and for all the tent: only they shall not draw near to the sacred vessels or the altar, lest they die, both they and you. 4. And they shall attach themselves to thee and shall carefully perform the service of the tent of meeting, all the work of the tent: but a stranger shall not draw near to you.

removes all cause for any such fear. He provides a double cordon of priests and Levites round the sanctuary. A layman who drew near would certainly die, but there is no excuse for a layman exposing himself to this peril. Yahwè has provided priests for the service of the altar, and Levites for menial work in the court of the sanctuary.

The chapter belongs to the original framework of P. This appears from the natural connection with P in ch. xvii., and also from the fact that the characteristics of the later sections are conspicuous by their absence. Thus it is distinctly laid down here, as in Deut., that the Levites (vv. 21-24) are to have no inheritance of land in Israel: they are to live on the tithes, from which they themselves must give a tithe to the priests. The priests are to receive a tithe of the tithes, the first-born of clean animals, and an equivalent for the first-born of men and unclean animals: the best of the corn, new wine and oil, the first-fruits (*i.e.* perhaps an offering of tree fruit), all that is forfeited by ban, the meal offerings, sin offerings and guilt offerings except the parts burned on the altar, the breast and right thigh in peace offerings.

Of course these sources of income are far more numerous and plentiful than those contemplated in Deut. In Deut. xiv. 22-29, the tithes are spent in sacrificial feasts, of which the offerer and his family partake, except every third year, when they are assigned to the relief of the poor. Here nine-tenths of the tithes are the absolute property of the Levites, while the remaining tenth is remitted by them to the priests. In Deut. (xv. 19-23) the first-born of animals are to be consumed by the owner in sacrificial feasts. Here the first-born of clean animals, except the blood and fat, are assigned absolutely, and with peculiar emphasis, to the priest, who is also to receive redemption money for the first-born of men and unclean beasts. The sin and guilt offerings are not mentioned at all in Deut. Here, when made by private persons, they belong to the priest. Nevertheless, though the legislator advances in furtherance of priestly interests far beyond Deut., and even

5. And you shall keep the duties of the holy place and the duties of the altar, that [divine] wrath may not fall again on the children of Israel. 6. But behold I on my part have taken your brethren the Levites from the midst of the children of Israel, as a gift for you, as men made over to Yahwè, that they may do the work of the tent of meeting. 7. But thou and thy sons with thee shall do the duty of your priesthood with regard to all that belongs to the altar and that which is within the veil and you shall labour [thereat]: as a work allotted by gift I bestow the priesthood on you, but the stranger who approaches it shall be put to death.

8. And Yahwè said to Aaron, Behold, I on my part have given thee the oversight of the offerings reserved for me, as for all the holy gifts of the children of Israel; I have given them to thee

beyond Ezek. xlv. 28-30, still he falls short of later writers in his own school. He speaks only of vegetable tithes (see ver. 27); he knows nothing of priestly or Levitical cities. Indeed, he excludes any such idea by unconscious anticipation (ver. 20).

Something must also be said of the position claimed for the Levites here, and in Ezek. xlv. 6-14. The language and thought alike show that Numb. xviii. is dependent on the passage in Ezek. But note the following instructive points of contrast. In Ezek., as in Deut., the Levites are all priests. In Ezek. they are to be degraded from their priesthood because they have officiated at the false worship on the high places. Henceforth the priesthood is to be confined to the sons of Zadok. Here, on the contrary, any idea that the Levites have ever been priests is utterly ignored. Aaron and his sons are priests, and the only priests, from the beginning, and after their institution the Levites are assigned to them as their subordinate ministers. In Ezek. xlv. 10, we read that the Levites are to 'bear their iniquity,' *i.e.* to pay by degradation from the priesthood the penalty of their sin in encouraging unlawful worship at the high places. Here the same expression is used (borrowed, no doubt, from Ezek.), but it is employed in quite another sense, and means simply that they, not the Israelites generally, are to bear the risk of any mistake made in performing the inferior ministry of the tabernacle. In Ezek. the Levites are to do the menial work formerly performed by foreigners, probably slaves. The fact that such persons were employed in the temple service is well attested by the older literature (Josh. ix. 27; 1 Sam. ii. 13; 2 Kings xi.; see also Zech. xiv. 21), but here, as usual, the 'priestly writer' has lost touch with historic reality. In his view, the Levites are substitutes, not for uncircumcised foreigners, but for the children of Israel. He excludes, not like Ezek., 'foreigners,' but 'strangers,' *i.e.* non-Levites, from approach to the tabernacle, and excludes them under penalty of death.

and thy sons as a portion by perpetual statute. 9. This shalt thou have from the most holy things reserved from the fire, all their oblation consisting in all their meal offering and all their sin offering and all their guilt offering by which they make restitution to me: such shall belong as most holy to thee and thy sons. 10. In a most holy place¹ shall thou eat thereof, every male shall eat it: as holy it shall belong to thee. 11. And this shall belong to thee as a portion reserved from their [other] gifts in all wave offerings of the children of Israel: I have given them to thee and to thy sons and thy daughters with thee by perpetual statute: every one that is clean in thy family shall eat thereof. 12. All the richest of oil and must and corn, the best of that which they give to Yahwè I have given to thee. 13. The firstfruits of all that grows on their land which they bring to Yahwè shall be thine: every one that is pure in thy family shall eat thereof. 14. All that is consecrated by ban in Israel shall be thine. 15. All that opens the womb of all flesh, that which they present to Yahwè of man or beast shall be thine: only thou shalt take care to redeem the firstborn of man and thou shalt redeem the firstborn of unclean beasts. 16. And as for their redemption price thou shalt redeem them at a month old for a price to be stated by thee, five silver shekels according to the sacred standard, twenty gerahs to the shekel. 17. On the contrary, the firstborn of an ox or sheep or goat thou shalt not redeem: they are holy; thou shalt sprinkle their blood on the altar and shalt burn their fat as a fire offering of sweet odour to Yahwè. 18. But their flesh shall belong to thee; like the breast that is waved and the right thigh,² it shall be thine. 19. All

¹ 'In a most holy place,' literally, 'in the holy of holies,' *i.e.* in the most holy place. But this translation has been avoided because the holy of holies in the ordinary sense, *i.e.* the inmost shrine, cannot be intended.

² 'Like the breast that is waved and the right thigh.' Wellhausen calls attention to the parenthetical way in which the privilege of sharing in the sacrificial feast, once the main source of the priest's livelihood, is mentioned here. The share of the sacrificial flesh, though even here the priestly legislator advances very distinctly on Deut., is thrown into the shade by more important revenues.

the reserved portion from the holy things which the children of Israel reserve for Yahwè I have given to thee and thy sons and thy daughters with thee by perpetual statute: it is a perpetual covenant made by salt before Yahwè for thee and thy seed with thee.

20. Also Yahwè said to Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land or portion [of land] in their midst: I am thy portion and inheritance among the children of Israel. 21. But, behold, I give the sons of Levi all the tithe in Israel for an inheritance in return for their labour wherewith they do the service of the tent of meeting. 22. And the children of Israel shall no longer draw near to the tent of meeting to incur sin which will be their death. 23. But it is the Levite that shall do the work in the tent of meeting, and it is they who are to bear the risk of their fault: it is a perpetual statute throughout your generations, and they shall have no inheritance among the children of Israel. 24. For I have given to the Levites as an inheritance the tithe of the children of Israel which they reserve for Yahwè as a portion: therefore I have said to them that they shall have no inheritance among the children of Israel.

25. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 26. Also thou shalt speak to the Levites and say to them, When you take from the children of Israel the tithe which I have given you from them as your inheritance, you shall take therefrom Yahwè's portion, a tithe of the tithe. 27. And it shall be reckoned to you as the portion which you reserve, as if it were corn from the floor or overflow from the press. 28. Thus you too shall reserve a portion for Yahwè from all your tithes which you take from the children of Israel, and you shall give Yahwè's portion therefrom to Aaron the priest. 29. From the whole of your gifts you shall set aside all Yahwè's portion, from all the best of it as the consecrated part therefrom. 30. And thou shalt say to them, When you set aside the best thereof, it shall be counted to the Levites as if it were the produce of the threshing floor or the press. 31. Then you can eat [the rest of] it, ye and your households, in any

place, for it is your hire in return for your work in the tent of meeting. 32. And you shall incur no sin because of it, provided you set apart the best thereof, nor shall you die by profaning the holy gifts of the children of Israel.

THE ASHES OF THE RED HEIFER AND THE LUSTRAL WATER.¹

XIX. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, 2. This is the legal statute which Yahwè imposed saying, Speak to the children of Israel that they take for thee a red heifer without blemish, one which has no disfigurement, on which a yoke has never come. 3. And you shall give it to Eleazar the priest and they shall bring it forth without the camp and shall slay it before him. 4. And Eleazar the priest shall take some of its blood with his finger and shall sprinkle some of its blood towards the front of the tent of meeting seven times. 5. Then they shall burn the heifer in his sight and shall burn its skin, flesh and blood besides*

¹ 'The red heifer and the lustral water.' It is admitted generally (by Dillm. as well as by Wellh., Kuen., Cornill) that this chapter belongs to a later stratum of P. It is inserted here out of all connection with the context. Its natural place would be after the law of purification from uncleanness, in Lev. xv., and it is scarcely conceivable that it was known to the author of Lev. v. 1-13 (itself secondary) who, in that case, must surely have made some reference to it. There are also peculiarities in the language of this chapter which confirm the above conclusion. Of these Dillm. enumerates the following: 'legal statute' (lit. 'statute of law'), ver. 2; the word *התחטא* meaning 'cleansed from sin,' ver. 11, 20, etc. (only here and viii. 21, xxxi. 19, 23, all secondary); and 'cut off from the midst of the assembly,' vv. 13, 20 (nowhere else). It seems probable (so Kuen., Dillm. speaks doubtfully) that the second section of the chapter, vv. 14-22, has been added by an afterthought to the former one. It is also generally admitted that the law, though modern in its present form, is based on primitive and prehistoric usage. For ritual analogies, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 362. It may, however, have been adopted by the Israelites for the first time during or after the exile. It is on the face of it impossible that this 'perpetual statute,' as laid down here, could ever have been observed by a nation. How could the immense number of people who came in contact with a corpse journey from remote parts of the country to the place where the lustral water was to be found? Even from the post-exilic time no tradition about the use of this water survives.

its dung. 6. Next the priest shall take cedar wood and hyssop and scarlet and cast them into the burning heifer. 7. Then the priest shall wash his garments and bathe his body in water and afterwards he shall go into the camp and the priest shall be unclean till the evening. 8. Also he that burns it shall wash his garments with water and bathe his body in water and shall be unclean till the evening. 9. And a man that is clean shall gather the ashes of the heifer and put them outside of the camp in a clean place, that it may be kept for the congregation of the children of Israel in water for removal of pollution: it is a sin offering. 10. And he who gathers the ashes of the heifer shall wash his garments and be unclean till the evening.

And it shall be a perpetual statute for the children of Israel and for the settler who is settled among them. 11. He who touches the dead, any human corpse, shall be unclean seven days. 12. Such an one shall cleanse himself from sin therewith on the third day and on the seventh day: so shall he be clean,¹ but if he do not cleanse himself from sin on the third day, and on the seventh day he shall not be clean. 13. Any one that touches the dead, any corpse of a man that dies, and does not cleanse himself from sin, has defiled Yahwè's tabernacle, and that person shall be cut off from Israel, because the water for pollution has not been sprinkled on him: he shall be unclean, his uncleanness is still on him.

14. The following is the law, if a man dies in a tent. Every one who enters the tent and all who are in the tent, shall be unclean seven days. 15. And every open vessel which has not [a covering] bound [with] cord,² is unclean. 16. And any one who in the open field shall touch one slain with the sword or one that has [otherwise] died or a man's bone or a grave, shall be unclean seven days. 17. And they shall take for the unclean man

¹ 'And on the seventh day: so shall he be clean.' So Sam., LXX. Comp. ver. 19.

² 'A covering bound with a cord.' This is, no doubt, the sense, but the Hebrew text is probably corrupt. The word 'cord' may have been added as a gloss, so that the original text would be, 'Every open vessel which has a binding.'

some of the burnt sin offering and put thereon fresh water into a vessel. 18. And a man that is clean shall take hyssop and dip it in the water and sprinkle it on the tent and the furniture and all the persons who are there and on him that touched the bone of the man slain or [otherwise] dead or the grave. 19. And the pure man shall sprinkle the unclean one on the third and seventh day and shall set him free from sin on the seventh day: and he shall wash his clothes and bathe in water and shall be clean at even. 20. But as for a man who becomes unclean and does not cleanse himself from sin, that person shall be cut off from the assembly, since he has defiled the sanctuary of Yahwè, water for pollution has not been sprinkled upon him, he is unclean. 21. And it shall be to you¹ a perpetual statute, and he who sprinkles water for pollution shall wash his garments, and he who touches the water for pollution shall be unclean till the evening. 22. And all that the unclean man touches, shall become unclean and the person that touches him, shall be unclean till the evening.

THE MIRACLE OF WATER FROM THE ROCK. THE SIN OF MOSES
AND AARON.² AARON'S DEATH. STAGES IN THE MARCH.

XX. 1^a. And the children of Israel, the whole congregation,

¹ 'To you.' So Sam., LXX., and some Hebr. mss. The common reading, 'to them,' does not suit the words which follow.

² 'The miracle of water from the rock. The sin of Moses,' etc. This section, vv. 1-13, is remarkable in several respects. As already said (vol. i. p. 169), it is one of the few instances in which an account of P has been mixed up with a similar one from the older documents. Next, in this place, quite contrary to his wont, for it is his constant practice to idealise the history of Israel's early heroes and leaders, P admits that Moses and Aaron were guilty of great sin. He does so, because the fact that Moses and Aaron did not enter the promised land was too fixed and conspicuous in tradition to be gainsaid, and it had to be accounted for. It was quite natural for P to explain it on moral grounds, and accordingly he does so. As the people generally were excluded from Canaan for rebellion against Yahwè, so it was with Moses and Aaron. But in what did this sin according to P consist? It is impossible to say for certain. Here, and this is another unusual case, the story of P has been mutilated by the final editor of the Hexateuch, who has softened the sin down into a vague charge of unbelief, though it is hard

came into the wilderness of Zin . . . in the first month.³ 2. Now there was no water for the congregation, so they assembled themselves against Moses and Aaron, 3^b. and spoke, saying,

to see where the unbelief showed itself. Since the former volume of this work was written an attempt has been made to solve this problem by Cornill (*Z.A.W.*, xi. p. 20 *seq.*). He supposes that, according to the Priestly narrative in its original form, Moses and Aaron were told to command the rock to give water. They hesitated to do so, distrusting Yahwè's power to secure such a miracle. Thereupon Moses was told to strike the rock with his magical staff. The water flowed, but the marvel was, according to ancient ideas, far less extraordinary than the evocation of water by mere words. For this rebellion against the divine command, Moses and Aaron were punished by exclusion from Canaan. It is difficult to feel entire confidence in Cornill's somewhat radical reconstruction; still it deserves, and has received (see, *e.g.*, Holzinger, *Hexat.*, p. 386), respectful consideration. Therefore, though here and there it collides with the separation of the earlier documents in my former volume, I subjoin it in this note.

'1^a. And the children of Israel, the whole congregation, came into the wilderness of Zin . . . in the first month. 2. Now there was no water for the congregation; so they assembled themselves against Moses and Aaron, 3^b. and spoke, saying, Would that we had died, when our brethren died before Yahwè. 4. And why have you brought the congregation of Yahwè into the wilderness to die there? 6. Then Moses and Aaron went out from before the people to the entrance of the tent of meeting and fell on their faces, and Yahwè's glory appeared to them. 7. And Yahwè spoke to Moses thus, 8. Assemble the congregation, thou and Aaron thy brother, and tell the rock before their eyes to give forth its water: so shalt thou bring forth water for them from the rock and give the people drink. [But Moses and Aaron rebelled against Yahwè's command, saying, Can we bring forth water from this rock?] 10^b. Then Yahwè said to them, Hear me [LXX. reading], ye rebels [who say] Can we bring forth water for them [read מִן הַצֵּדָה] from this rock? 8a^a. Take the rod [which is before me or before the ark of the testimony, and strike therewith the rock that water may gush forth]. 9. So Moses took the rod from the presence of Yahwè, as he had commanded him; 10^a. and Moses and Aaron gathered the assembly before the rock, 11. and Moses raised his hand and struck the rock with the rod [LXX. reading] and water came forth abundantly, and the people drank. 12. And Yahwè said to Moses and Aaron, [Because you have rebelled against my command] to acknowledge me as holy in the sight of the children of Israel, therefore you shall not bring the assembly into the land I have given them. 13. These are the waters of Meribah, where the children of Israel strove with Yahwè, and he showed himself holy among them.'

¹ 'In the first month.' This of course is from P, who alone gives dates by months and years. But the year is omitted, because, as Nöldeke saw and is now generally admitted, it was inconsistent with the narrative of the older

Would that we had died when our brethren died before Yahwè. 6. Then Moses and Aaron went from before the people to the entrance of the tent of meeting and fell on their faces, and Yahwè's glory appeared to them. 7. [And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying] 8. [Assemble] the congregation, thou and Aaron thy brother, and tell the rock before their eyes to give forth its water. 9. And Moses took the rod from the presence of Yahwè as he commanded him, 10^a. and Moses and Aaron gathered the assembly together before the rock. . . . 12. And Yahwè said to Moses and to Aaron, *Because you have not trusted me*¹ so as to acknowledge me as holy in the sight of the children of Israel, therefore you shall not bring this assembly into the land I have given them.

22. And they set out from Kadesh, and they, the whole congregation of the children of Israel, came to Mount Hor. 23. And Yahwè spoke to Moses and Aaron in Mount Hor, on the border of the land of Edom, saying, 24. Aaron shall be gathered to the men of his people, since he shall not enter the land which I have given to the children of Israel, because you rebelled against my word at the waters of Meribah. 25. Take Aaron and Eleazar his son and bring them up to Mount Hor, 26. and strip Aaron of his garments and put them on Eleazar his son, but Aaron shall be gathered in and die there. 27. So Moses did, as Yahwè commanded, and they went up to Mount Hor before the eyes of all the congregation. 28. And Moses stripped Aaron of his garments

documents. P placed the event here described in the fortieth year, as is plain from ver. 22 *seq.* compared with xxxiii. 38 *seq.* Nor could he do otherwise, if the incident was to explain the exclusion of Moses from Canaan. On the other hand, the older documents placed the arrival at Kadesh early in the wanderings, representing that as the place from which the spies were sent (xiii. 26; Deut. i. 19). The modern evasion of a double residence at Kadesh, or of two places so called, has no support in the text, and is inconsistent with xxxiii. 36; Deut. i. 1 *seq.*

¹ 'Have not trusted me.' So P did not write: he never uses the word here rendered 'trust.' In ver. 24 he writes, 'Because you rebelled against my word,' and we may reasonably conclude that he employed the same phrase here. It was then softened by the final editor.

and put them on Eleazar his son, and Aaron died there¹ on the top of the mountain: then Moses and Eleazar came down from the mountain. 29. So all the congregation saw that Aaron had died and all the house of Israel wept for Aaron thirty days.

XXI. 10. And the children of Israel set forth and encamped in Oboth. 11. And they set forth from Oboth and encamped in Iye-abarim. XXII. 1. And the children of Israel set forth and encamped in the plains of Moab on the further side of the Jordan at Jericho.

THE ZEAL OF PHINEAS AND ITS REWARD.

. . . XXV. 6. And behold, a man belonging to the children of Israel came and brought to his brethren a Midianitish woman² in sight of Moses and all the congregation of the children of Israel, while they wept at the entrance of the tent of meeting. 7. Now Phinehas son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, saw it; so he rose from among the congregation and took a javelin in his hand. 8. And he went after the man of Israel into the tent and ran both of them through, the man of Israel, and the woman through her belly. So the plague was stayed from attacking the children of Israel. 9. Now those who died by the plague were twenty-four thousand.

¹ 'Aaron died there,' *i.e.* on Mount Hor. According to the older tradition, preserved in Deut. x. 6, he died at Moserah, which, to judge from the itinerary in Num. xxxiii. (P), was a long way off.

² 'A Midianitish woman.' The beginning of this section of the Priestly narrative has been displaced by the account from the older document in xxv. 1-5, vol. i. p. 184. There the people are led into idolatry by the blandishments of the Midianitish women: the idolatry is the chief point, and the women of Midian are merely the occasion of it. Here, on the contrary, nothing is said of idolatry: it is the connection with heathen women which is the sin and the cause of the plague. The elders of Midian consult Balaam (see below, xxxi. 8, 16; Josh. xiii. 22) as to the likeliest way of doing a mischief to Israel. At his suggestion the Midianitish women are set to tempt Israel into intermarriage, which in the eyes of P is no better than immorality. Thus they strive to rob Israel of its strength, which has its hidden source in separation from other nations. A terrible plague ensues, stayed at last by the zeal of Phinehas the priest.

10. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 11. Phinehas son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, has turned me from attacking the children of Israel, because he has been zealous with zeal like my own among you: so therefore I have not by my zeal made an end of the children of Israel. 12. Therefore say, Behold, I give him the sure promise of peace with me. 13. And there shall be for him and his seed after him the sure promise of a perpetual priesthood,¹ since he has been zealous for his God and has made propitiation for the children of Israel. 24. Now the name of the man of Israel who was slain, who was slain with the Midianitish woman, was Zimri the son of Salu, a prince of a clan among the Simeonites, 15. and the name of the Midianitish woman that was slain was Cozbi the daughter of Zur: he was head of a clan [or] family² in Midian.

16. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,*³ 17. *Be enemies to the*

¹ 'Perpetual priesthood.' It is remarkable that here the priesthood is promised to Phinehas without reference to Ithamar and his descendants. The family of Ithamar seems, as Kautzsch suggests, to have been the only family among those that officiated as priests on the high places which succeeded in establishing itself at Jerusalem in accordance with the right conceded in Deut. xviii. 6 *seq.* By a later fiction the family of Ithamar, one of which returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 2), also traced their origin to Aaron. But we nowhere find any genealogical table of the descendants of Aaron through Ithamar. At first the line of Aaron, Eleazar, Phinehas, was contemplated as the only legitimate line of priesthood, and the text here preserves a reminiscence of this older view. See Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. p. 105.

² 'Clan [or] family.' The second word is a gloss on the former, which seems to be a technical expression for the division of an Arab tribe.

³ 'And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,' vv. 16-18. A few words at least in these verses belong to that stage in the redaction of the Hexateuch, when P was already united with the older documents. The idolatrous worship of Baal Peor (as in the older documents) and the association with the women of Midian (as in P) are here mentioned together as joint causes of the plague. Besides this, the whole of the section is suspect, because it prepares the way for the account of the war with Midian in xxxi., which is undoubtedly a later addition to P. Accordingly I have marked vv. 16-18 as all late, therein following Kuen. It is, however, possible, as Bacon suggests, that P did contain a notice of the Midianite war which has been expanded into ch. xxxi. in its present form. In that case it would suffice to mark the words from 'in the matter of Peor' to the end of ver. 18 as interpolated.

Midianites and smite ye them. 18. For they have been enemies to you through their devices which they devised against you in the matter of Peor and in the matter of Cosbi their countrywoman, the daughter of a prince of Midian, who was slain in the day of the plague on account of Peor.

THE SECOND NUMBERING OF THE PEOPLE.

19. Now it came to pass after the plague, XXVI. 1. that Yahwè said thus to Moses and Eleazar the son of Aaron the priest, 2. Take the sum of all the congregation of the children of Israel from twenty years old and upwards according to their kindred, all that go forth to battle array in Israel. 3. So Moses and Aaron the priest¹ . . . them in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho . . . 4. from twenty years old and upwards, as Yahwè commanded Moses. Now the children of Israel who came forth from the land of Egypt were, 5. Reuben Israel's firstborn: the sons of Reuben were Hanoch [from whom comes] the clan of Hanochites, from Pallu the clan of the Palluites, 6. from Hezron the clan of the Hezronites, from Carmi the clan of the Carmites. 7. These are the clans of the Reubenites, and their numbered men were forty-three thousand, seven hundred and thirty. 8. *And the sons of Pallu² were Eliab*, 9. *and the sons of Eliab were Nemuel and Dathan and Abiram councillors who strove against Moses and Aaron with Korah's company when*

¹ 'Moses and Aaron the priest,' etc. This verse is hopelessly mutilated and corrupt. The versions afford no help, for the corruption is clearly ancient, and the attempts made to make sense of the text as it stands are forbidden by the laws of the language.

² 'And the sons of Pallu,' etc. Vv. 8-11 are admittedly a late addition. They presuppose both the account of the older documents that the rebels were swallowed up alive and that of P that they were consumed by fire. Of course confusion is the result of this attempt to combine two contradictory narratives. Notice also that the insertion of these verses breaks the regularity of the genealogical table, for the mention of the Reubenites is closed by the statement of their number. There are also peculiarities of language, viz. וְהָיָה as in Ps. lx. 2, and נֶפֶס only here for a 'warning.'

these strove against Yahwè. 10. But the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up with Korah when that company died, when the fire consumed the two hundred and fifty men, so that they became a sign [of warning]. 11. Still the sons of Korah did not die out. 12. The sons of Simeon according to their clans: from Nemuel the clan of the Nemuelites, from Jamin the clan of the Jaminites, from Jachin the clan of the Jachinites, 13. and from Zerah the clan of the Zerahites, from Shaul the family of the Shaulites. 14. These are the clans of the Simeonites, twenty-two thousand, two hundred. 15. The sons of Gad according to their clans: from Zephon the clan of the Zephonites, from Haggi the clan of the Haggites, from Shuni the clan of the Shunites, 16. from Ozni the clan of the Oznites, from Eri the clan of the Erites, 17. from Arod the clan of the Arodites, from Areli the clan of the Arelites. 18. These are the clans of the sons of Gad according to their numbered men, forty thousand, five hundred. 19. The sons of Judah Er and Onan, but Er and Onan died in the land of Canaan. 20. And the sons of Judah according to their clans were, from Shelah the clan of the Shelanites, from Perez the clan of the Perezites, from Zerah the clan of the Zerahites: 21. and the sons of Perez were, from Hezron the clan of the Hezronites, from Hamul the clan of the Hamulites. 22. These were the clans of Judah according to their numbered men, seventy-six thousand, five hundred. 23. The sons of Issachar according to their clans: from Tola¹ the clan of the Tolaites, from Puvah the clan of the Punites, 24. from Jashub the clan of the Jashubites, from Shimron the clan of the Shimronites. 25. These are the clans of Issachar according to their numbered men, sixty-four thousand, three hundred. 26. The sons of Zebulun according to their clans: from Sered the clan of the Seredites, from Elon the clan of the Elonites, from Jahleel the clan of the Jahleelites. 27. These were the clans of the Zebulonites according to their numbered men, sixty thousand,

¹ From Tola.' Text slightly amended after LXX. and Sam.

five hundred. 28. The sons of Joseph according to their clans Manasseh and Ephraim: 29. the sons of Manasseh, from Machir¹ the clan of Machirites; now Machir begot Gilead from Gilead the clan of the Gileadites. 30. These are the sons of Gilead, [from] Iezer the clan of the Iezerites, [from] Helei the clan of the Helekites, 31. and [from] Asriel the clan of the Asrielites, and [from] Shechem the clan of the Shechemites, 32. and [from] Shemida the clan of the Shemidaïtes and [from] Hepher, the clan of the Hepherites. 33. And Zelophehad the son of Hepher had no sons but [only] daughters, and the name of Zelophehad's daughters were Mahlah and Noah, Hoglah Milcah and Tirzah. 34. These are the clans of Manasseh according to² their numbered men, fifty-two thousand seven hundred. 35. These are the sons of Ephraim according to their clans: from Shuthelah the clan of the Shuthelahites, from Becher the clan of the Becherites, from Tahan the clan of the Tahanites: 36. and these are the sons of Shuthelah; from Eran the clan of the Eranites. 37. These are the clans of the son of Ephraim according to their numbered men, thirty-two thousand, five hundred. These are the sons of Joseph according to their clans. 38. The sons of Benjamin according to their clans; from Bela the clan of the Belaites, from Ashbel the clan of the Ashbelites, from Ahiham the clan of the Ahihamites, 39. from Shephupham the clan of the Shuphamites, from Huphan the clan of the Huphamites. 40. Now the sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman, [from Ard] the clan of the Ardites, from Naaman the clan of the Naamites. 41. These are the sons of Benjamin³ according to⁴ their numbered men, forty-five thousand, six hundred. 42. These are the sons of Dan according

¹ 'Machir.' Here he is the only, in the older documents he is merely the firstborn son of Manasseh. See vol. i. p. 227, n. 2, on Josh. xvii. 1-13.

² 'According to.' The preposition has been added from LXX. and Sam. So in ver. 41.

³ 'Sons of Benjamin.' The account is at variance with the later one in Gen. xlv.

⁴ 'According to.' See note on ver. 34.

to their clans : from Shuham the clan of the Shuhamites. These are the clans of Dan according to their clans. 43. All the clans of the Shuhamites according to their numbered men were sixty-four thousand, four hundred. 44. The sons of Asher according to their clans : from Imnah the clan of the Imnites, from Ishvi the clan of the Ishvites, from Beriah the clan of the Beriites : 45. from the sons of Beriah, from Heber the family of the Heberites, from Malchiel the family of the Malchielites. 46. And the name of Asher's daughter was Serah. 47. These are the clans of the sons of Asher according to their numbered men, fifty-three thousand, four hundred. 48. The sons of Naphtali according to their clans : from Jahzeel the clan of the Jahzeelites, from Guni the clan of the Gunites, 49. from Jezer the clan of the Jezerites, from Shillem the clan of the Shillemites. 50. These were the clans of Naphtali according to their clans, and their numbered men were forty-five thousand, four hundred. 51. These were the numbered men of the children of Israel six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty.

52. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 53. To these shall the land to be apportioned as an inheritance according to the number of names. 54. For [the tribe] that is numerous, thou shalt extend its inheritance, and for that which is small thou shalt make its inheritance small : to each in proportion to its numbered men shall its inheritance be given. 55. Still the land shall be apportioned by lot : according to the names of their ancestral tribes shall they inherit. 56. By the decision of the lot shall its inheritance be apportioned, [adjustment being then made with respect to the difference] between that [tribe] which is numerous and that which is small.

57. And these are the numbered men of Levi according to their clans : from Gershon the clan of the Gershonites, from Kohath the clan of the Kohathites, from Merari the clan of the Merarites. 58. These are the clans of Levi :¹ the clan

¹ 'Clans of Levi.' Here the clans are not arranged, as in Exod. vi. 16 *seq.* ; Num. iii. 21 *seq.*, under the three heads of Gershonites, Kohathites,

of the Libnites, the clan of the Hebronites, the clan of the Mahlites, the clan of the Mushites, the clan of the Korahites. Now Kohath begat Amran, 59. and the name of Amram's wife was Jochebed daughter of Levi who was born to Levi in Egypt, and she bore to Amram Aaron and Moses and Miriam their sister. 60. And to Aaron were born Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. 61. But Nadab and Abihu died, because they brought strange fire before Yahwè. 62. And their numbered men were twenty-three thousand, every male from a month old and upwards, for they were not counted among the children of Israel, since an inheritance was not given them among the children of Israel. 63. These are the men numbered by Moses and Eleazar the priest who numbered the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. 64. And there was not a man among them of those numbered by Moses and Aaron the priest, who numbered the children of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai. 65. For Yahwè had said to them, that they should certainly die in the wilderness, and not a man of them was left save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun.

THE LAW CONCERNING HEIRESSSES. INSTALLATION OF JOSHUA.

XXVII. 1. Then drew near the daughters of Zelophehad the son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, belonging to the clans of Manasseh, the son of Joseph. Now these were the names of his daughters, Mahlah and Noah and Hoglah and Milcah and Tirzah. 2. And they stood before Moses and Eleazar the priest and before the princes and all the

Merarites. The want of systematic division here seems, as Wellh. argues, (Dillm. is on the other side) to be a mark of greater antiquity, and so far to be an argument for regarding not only Exod. vi. 13 *ad fin.*, but also Numb. iii. 14-51 as later additions to P. At the same time it is precarious to argue from single and isolated phenomena in a part of the text to the character of a section as a whole. Even here the mention of Miriam, ignored by P elsewhere, may be an addition by a later scribe.

congregation at the entrance of the tent of meeting, saying, 3. Our father died in the wilderness, but he had no place in the company that assembled themselves against Yahwè in the company of Korah,¹ but he died by his own sin without having sons. 4. Why should our father's name be cut off from the midst of his clan, now that he has left no son? Give us a possession in the midst of our father's brethren.

5. So Moses brought their plea before Yahwè. 6. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 7. The daughters of Zelophehad speak justly: thou shalt not fail to give them the possession of an inheritance in the midst of their father's brethren and shalt let their father's inheritance pass over to them. 8. And thou shalt speak to the children of Israel, saying, When a man dies without sons, you shall let his inheritance pass over to his daughter. 9. But if he leaves no daughter, you shall give his inheritance to his brothers. 10. But if he has no brothers, you shall give his inheritance to his father's brothers. 11. But if his father has left no brothers, you shall give his inheritance to his nearest kinsman in his clan and he shall possess it and it shall be to the children of Israel a statute founded on a judgment,² as Yahwè commanded Moses.

12. And Yahwè said to Moses, Ascend this mountain of Abarim and see the land I have given to the children of Israel. 13. But when thou hast seen it, thou too shalt be gathered to the men of thy people, as Aaron thy brother was gathered, 14. inasmuch as you rebelled against my command in the wilderness of Zin at the strife of the congregation to manifest me as holy by means of the water before their eyes: these are

¹ 'In the company of Korah.' As Zelophehad was a Manassite, there would have been no need to say that he was not one of a band of Levites who rose in rebellion to claim the priesthood. Evidently here the narrative is of a piece with the original framework of P, according to which Korah and his troop were laymen who rebelled not specially against the priests the sons of Aaron but against the authority of the Levitical tribe as a whole.

² 'Statute founded on a judgment,' *i.e.* the particular decision (*mishpat*) given to Zelophehad's daughter is to be a precedent for all time.

the waters of strife at Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin. 15. Then Moses spoke to Yahwè, saying, 16. Let Yahwè the God of the spirits of all flesh appoint a man over the congregation, 17. who shall go out and come in before them and who shall lead them out and bring them in, that the congregation of Yahwè be not as sheep that have no shepherd. 18. So Yahwè said to Moses, Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man who has spirit in him and lay thy hand on him. 19. And place him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation and institute him in their presence, 20. and set some of thy dignity upon him, so that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient. 21. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest, that he may make inquiry for him concerning the decision of the urim before Yahwè: at his [Eleazar's] word shall they go out and at his word they shall come in, he and all the children of Israel with him, and all the congregation. 22. So Moses did as Yahwè commanded and took Joshua and placed him before Eleazar the priest and before all the congregation. 23. And he laid his hands on him and instituted him, as Yahwè had spoken through Moses.

LAWS ON SACRIFICE.¹XXVIII. 1. *Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Command*

'Laws on sacrifice,' xxviii. xxix. There is a general consensus (Nöldeke, Dillm., Wellh., Kuen.) that these chapters belong to a late stratum of P. Kuen. points out that the chapters in question are out of place here and should have followed immediately Lev. xxiii., that the author of this section goes beyond Lev. xxiii. (i.e. the 'Law of Holiness' revised and supplemented by a writer of the 'Priestly' school), inasmuch as the amount of sacrifice on the feasts, there left to the free will of the congregation, is here accurately fixed; and lastly that the writer here in his effort after complete enumeration of daily, monthly and yearly sacrifice begins in vv. 3-8 by repeating from Exod. xxix. 38-42 the enactment of the daily sacrifice. Add with Dillm. that the feasts of the new moon, ignored in Lev. xxiii. (see, however, Numb. x. 10), are here placed on a level with the other feasts, and that in xxix. 12-34 the feast of tabernacles has sacrifices assigned to it in excess of those on the Passover, though there is no hint of any such pre-eminence in Lev. xxiii. 34 *seq.* We cannot expect to find much difference

the children of Israel and say to them, Be careful to present to me each in its appointed time my oblations, my food in fire offerings, a sweet odour for me. 3. And thou shalt say to them, This is the fire offering which you shall make to Yahwè, two he-lambs a year old without blemish, each as a burnt offering day by day continually. 4. One lamb shalt thou offer in the morning and the other lamb thou shalt offer towards evening, 5. with the tenth of an ephah of fine flour for a meal offering, mixed with the fourth of a hin of oil of beaten olives. 6. It is a perpetual burnt offering, that which was ordained in mount Sinai as a sweet odour, a fire offering to Yahwè. 7. And the corresponding libation shall be the fourth part of a hin for each lamb: in the sanctuary shall the libation be made, strong drink for Yahwè. 8. And thou shalt prepare the second towards evening; with the same meal offering as in the morning and with the same libation thou shalt make an offering by fire, as a sweet odour to Yahwè.

9. And on the Sabbath day two he-lambs a year old without blemish, and two tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour mixed with oil as a meal offering with the corresponding libation, 10. shall be the burnt offering of every Sabbath besides the perpetual burnt offering and its meal offering.

11. Also on the first days of your months¹ you shall present a

in style, since the section is to a great extent composed of technical expressions borrowed from P. Still in xxviii. 2 ('My food in fire offerings'), 6^b ('which was ordained' or 'made in Mount Sinai'), 7^b ('strong drink for Yahwè' and the enigmatical expressions בְּקֹרֶחַ), the style itself shows marks of a later hand.

¹ 'The first days of your months.' The previous mention of the feast of the new moon (Num. x. 10) has been casual. This therefore seems the proper place for saying something on the history of the observance. It was undoubtedly familiar to the ancient Israelites. To them the new moon like the Sabbath was an occasion of rest from work (Am. viii. 5) and of joy (Hos. ii. 13; Isa. i. 13). On Sabbath or new moon people, finding slaves and beasts of burden free, were able to visit prophets whom they wished to consult (2 Kings iv. 23). At new moon sacrificial meals were held by the clans (1 Sam. xx. 6) and at court (1 Sam. xx. 5 *seq.*). This being so, it is very remarkable that the new moon should be completely ignored in the 'Book of the Covenant' and in Deuteronomy. Probably the earlier legislators, animated by the prophetic

burnt offering to Yahwè, two young bullocks and one ram, seven he-lambs a year old without blemish, 12. and three tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour mixed with oil as a meal offering for each bullock and two tenths of [an ephah of] fine flour mixed with oil as a meal offering for the single ram, 13. and a tenth of [an ephah of] fine flour severally, mixed with oil as a meal offering for each lamb a burnt offering, a sweet odour, a fire offering to Yahwè. 14. And the corresponding libations shall be half a hin of wine for a bullock and the third of a hin for the ram and the fourth of a hin for each lamb. Such is the burnt offering for each month throughout the months of the year. 15. And one he-goat as a sin offering to Yahwè, it shall be offered besides the continual burnt offering, and the corresponding libation.

16. And in the first month on the fourteenth day of the month is Yahwè's Passover. 17. And on the fifteenth day of this month shall be a feast: seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten. 18. On the first day there shall be a holy convocation: no servile work shall be done. 19. And you shall present an offering by fire, a burnt offering to Yahwè, two young bullocks and one ram and seven he-lambs a year old: you shall see that they are without blemish, 20. and as the meal offering for them fine flour mixed with oil; you shall prepare three tenths [of an ephah] for each bullock and two tenths for the ram; 21. thou shalt prepare a tenth severally for each lamb of the seven lambs. 22. Also one he-goat as a sin offering to make propitiation for you. 23. You shall prepare these besides the morning burnt offering which serves as the continual burnt offering. 24. Thus shall you prepare every day

spirit, disliked the feast of the new moon on account of heathen usage with which it had been connected. On the other hand, Ezek. xlv. 6 *seq.* fully recognises the feast of the new moon and orders it to be celebrated by the sacrifice of a bullock, six lambs, and a ram. Here the amount of burnt offering is increased, and a sin offering is added. Probably this recognition of the ancient feast may be explained, partly by the fact that later Judaism was able to hold its own against the intrusion of heathen elements, and partly because, now that the feasts were kept on fixed days of the month, the first day of the month naturally acquired a new importance in the festal calendar.

during seven days Yahwè's food offered by fire of sweet odour : it shall be prepared besides the continual burnt offering and its libation. 25. And on the seventh day you shall hold a holy convocation : no servile work shall you do.

26. Also on the day of the firstfruits when you present a meal offering of the new grain to Yahwè on your feast of weeks, you shall hold a holy convocation : you shall do no servile work. 27. And you shall present as a burnt offering for a sweet odour to Yahwè, two young bullocks, one ram, seven he-lambs a year old, 28. and as their meal offering, fine flour mixed with oil, three tenths [of an ephah] for each bullock, two tenths for the single ram, 29. a tenth severally for each lamb of the seven lambs ; 30. one he-goat to make propitiation for you. 31. You shall prepare them besides the continual burnt offering and its meal offering and their libations : you shall see that they are without blemish.

XXIX. 1. And in the seventh month on the first of the month you shall hold a holy convocation ; you shall do no servile work : you shall count it a day for the blast of trumpets. 2. And you shall make a burnt offering for a sweet odour to Yahwè of one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs a year old without blemish, 3. and as the corresponding meal offering fine flour mixed with oil, three tenths [of an ephah] for the bullock, two tenths for the ram, 4. and one tenth for each lamb of the seven lambs : 5. and one he-goat for a sin offering to make propitiation for you, 6. besides the monthly burnt offering with its meal offering and the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and their libations according to their ritual, for a sweet odour, a fire offering to Yahwè.

7. And on the tenth of this seventh month you shall hold a holy convocation and afflict yourselves : no kind of work shall you do. 8. And you shall present as a burnt offering to Yahwè a sweet odour, one young bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs a year old ; you shall see that they are without blemish. 9. And as their meal offering, fine flour mixed with oil, three tenths [of an ephah] for the bullock, two tenths for the one ram, 10. a tenth severally for each lamb of the seven lambs, 11. one he-goat for a sin offering

besides the sin offering of atonement and the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and the corresponding libations.

12. *And on the fifteenth day of the seventh month you shall have a holy convocation ; you shall do no servile work and you shall keep a feast to Yahwè seven days.* 13. *And you shall present a burnt offering, an offering by fire, a sweet odour to Yahwè thirteen young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old they shall be without blemish : 14. and as the meal offering, seven fine flour mixed with oil, three tenths [of an ephah] for each bullock of the thirteen bullocks, two tenths for each of the two rams, 15. and a tenth severally for each lamb of the fourteen lambs ; 16. and one he-goat for a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering, its meal offering and its libation.* 17. *And on the second day, twelve young bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old, without blemish, 18. with the appropriate meal offerings and libations for the bullocks, rams and lambs by their number according to the ritual, 19. and one he-goat as a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and the appropriate libations.* 20. *And on the third day eleven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old without blemish 21. with their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullocks, for the rams and for the lambs by their number according to the ritual : 22. and one he-goat for a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and libations.* 23. *And on the fourth day ten bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old without blemish, 24. with their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullocks, for the rams and for the lambs by their number according to the ritual ; 25. and one he-goat as a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering, its meal offering and libation.* 26. *And on the fifth day nine bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old without blemish, 27. with their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullocks, rams and lambs by their number according to the ritual ; 28. and one he-goat as a sin offering ; besides the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and libation.* 29. *And on the sixth day*

eight bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs of a year old without blemish, 30. with their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullocks, rams and lambs by their number according to the ritual; 31. and one he-goat as a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering, its meal offering and its libation.¹ 32. And on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen he-lambs a year old without blemish, 33. with their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullocks, rams and lambs by their number, according to their ritual, 34. and one he-goat as a sin offering, besides the continual burnt offering, its meal offering and its libation. 35. On the eighth day you shall keep a solemn assembly:² you shall do no servile work. 36. And you shall present a burnt offering, an offering by fire of sweet odour to Yāhwè, consisting of one bullock, one ram, seven he-lambs of a year old, without blemish, 37. their meal offering and the appropriate libations for the bullock, the ram and the lambs by their numbers according to the ritual, 38. and one he-goat as a sin offering besides the continual burnt offering with its meal offering and its libation.

39. These things shall you prepare for Yāhwè on your feasts besides your burnt offerings and meal offerings and libations and peace offerings made by vow or of free will.

XXX. 1. So Moses spoke to the children of Israel according to all that Yāhwè commanded Moses.

RULES ON THE VALIDITY OF VOWS.³

2. Also Moses spoke to the heads of the tribes of the children of Israel, saying, This it is that Yāhwè has commanded. 3. If a

¹ 'Its libation.' Strack's emendation has been adopted instead of the Massoretic reading, 'its libations.'

² 'Solemn assembly.' See Lev. xxiii. 36, 39^b.

³ 'Rules on the validity of vows.' Another supplementary section, which has no connection with the context. The superscription in ver. 2 differs in a marked way from the form usually employed by P. He mentions first the fact that Yāhwè spoke to Moses, and he speaks of 'princes' or 'heads of fathers' houses,' etc., never of 'heads of tribes' (מִסֹּחֵי).

man make a vow to Yahwè or take an oath to put restraint on himself, he shall not break his word: according to all that proceed from his mouth shall he do. 4. And if a woman make a vow to Yahwè, and bind herself to abstinence in her father's house during her youth, 5. and her father hear her vow and the abstinence to which she has bound herself, and if her father be silent thereat, then her vows shall hold good, and all the abstinence she has laid on herself shall be binding. 6. But if her father hinder her when he hears, none of her vows and abstinences which she has imposed on herself shall stand, and Yahwè will forgive her, since her father has hindered her. 7. But if she pass into the hands of a husband with her vows upon her or a rash utterance of her lips wherewith she has bound herself, 8. and her husband hear, but be silent thereat when he hears, then her vows shall stand and her abstinences which she has imposed on herself shall stand. 9. But if when her husband hear, he hinder her and annul her vow which is upon her and the rash utterance of her lips wherewith she has bound herself, then Yahwè shall forgive her. 10. But the vow of a widow and a divorced woman, all that to which either has bound herself, shall be obligatory for her. 11. And if in her husband's house she made a vow or imposed an abstinence on herself under oath, 12. and her husband hear and be silent thereat, not hindering her, then all her vows shall stand and all the abstinence she laid on herself shall bind. 13. But if her husband decidedly annul them, when he hears, nothing that has proceeded from her lips in the form of vows or promises of abstinence made by her, shall stand: her husband has annulled them and Yahwè will forgive her. 14. As for every vow and every oath of abstinence for self-chastisement, her husband shall make them good and her husband shall make them void. 15. But if her husband be quite silent in regard to her from day to day, then he establishes all her vows or all her engagements to abstain which rest upon her, since he kept silence before her when he heard. 16. But if he clearly annul them [some time] after he hears, then he takes her guilt on himself. 17. These are the statutes which Yahwè commanded Moses [for

decision] between husband and wife, father and daughter that is during her youth in her father's house.

WAR AGAINST MIDIAN.¹ LAW FOR DIVISION OF SPOIL.

XXXI. 1. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Take vengeance for the children of Israel from the Midianites: afterward thou shalt be gathered to the men of thy people. 3. So Moses spoke to the people, saying, Equip for yourselves men of your number for the expedition, that they may fall on Midian to inflict Yahwè's vengeance on Midian. 4. You shall send on the expedition a thousand for each tribe of all the tribes of Israel. 5. So there were handed over from the thousands of Israel a thousand for each tribe, twelve thousand men equipped for the expedition. 6. Then Moses sent them, a thousand for each tribe, on the expedition, the men themselves and Phinehas son of Eleazar the priest on the expedition, with the holy vessels and the trumpets for the blast in his hand. 7. And they marched against Midian, as Yahwè commanded Moses, and slew every male. 8. And they slew the kings of Midian besides [the rest of] their slain, Evi and Rekem, and Zur and Hur and Reba, the five kings of Midian, and they slew Balaam*

¹ 'War against Midian,' etc. Dillm. heartily approves the verdict of Wellh. on this chapter as one of the latest additions to the 'Priestly' document. It may be the fantastic expansion of a simpler account originally given by P in continuation of xxv. 16 *seq.*, or it may have been freely composed by a later hand in the style of P. It contains evident references to previous sections of P (comp. v. 2 with xxv. 16 *seq.*, xxvii 12 *seq.*; v. 6 with x. 9; v. 16 with xxv. 6; v. 19 with xix.), and makes abundant use of P's phraseology. At the same time it also shows clear signs of difference from P in language and style. Such are העם for 'people,' ver. 3; 'little ones' (טף), ver. 9; the peculiar expression for 'men of war,' ver. 32; מסר (to 'deliver') ver. 5; the word used for 'half' in vv. 36 and 43; מכס for 'tribute' in ver. 28; 'thy servants' instead of 'we' in ver. 49, etc. etc. Moreover, although P does not concern himself much about the improbability of his narrative, it may be safely said that he nowhere approaches the monstrous claims here made on credulity. Twelve thousand Israelites, without losing a man, destroy all Midianite males and seize 32,000 Midianite virgins, 675,000 small cattle, 72,000 oxen, 61,000 asses, gold amounting to 16,750 shekels. Here also Eleazar the priest appears in ver. 21 as the independent expounder of the Mosaic law, a thing unknown in P proper.

the son of Beor with the sword. 9. And the children of Israel to captive the women of Midian and their little ones, and they made plunder of all their cattle and all their flocks and of all the goods. 10. And they burnt with fire all their cities in the district they inhabited and all their encampments. 11. And they took of the spoil and all the booty in man and beast, 12. and brought Moses and to Eleazar the priest and to the congregation of the children of Israel the captives and the booty and the spoil in the camp to the plains of Moab which are by the Jordan Jericho.

13. Then Moses and Eleazar the priest and all the princes the congregation went forth to meet them to the outside of the camp. 14. But Moses was angry with the officers of the army, the captains over thousands and the captains over hundreds, who came in from the warlike expedition, 15. and Moses said to them, Have ye let all the women live? 16. Behold, these were by the advice Balaam an occasion to the children of Israel of committing treachery against Yahweh in the affair of Peor, and so the plagues fell on the congregation of Yahweh. 17. Now then slay every man among the little ones, and every woman that has cohabited with male do ye slay. 18. But keep alive for yourselves all the little ones among the women that have not cohabited with a male. 19. But do you encamp outside of the camp seven days: all of ye that have killed any one or touched the slain, purify yourselves from contamination on the third day and the seventh, yourselves with your captives. 20. Likewise you shall purify from contamination every garment and everything made of skin, and all that is wrought of goat's hair and all that is made of wood.

21. And Eleazar the priest said to the men of the host that went into the battle, This is the precept of law which Yahweh has commanded Moses. 22. Howbeit the gold and silver, the bronze, the iron, the tin and the lead, 23. all that can bear fire you shall put through the fire and it shall be clean: only it shall

¹ 'Committing.' The conjecture of Gesen., Dillm., and others has been adopted, viz., למעל for the unintelligible Massoretic reading, למסר.

be purified in water for pollution: and all that cannot bear fire you shall pass through water. 24. *And you shall wash your clothes on the seventh day: then you shall be clean, and afterwards you may come into the camp.*

25. *And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying,* 26. *Take the sum of that which has been seized and led captive whether man or cattle, thou and Eleazar the priest and the heads of clans in the congregation.* 27. *And thou shalt halve¹ the booty between those who engaged in the war, who went forth to the expedition and all the [rest of] the congregation.* 28. *And thou shalt reserve a tribute for Yahwè from the men of war who went forth on the expedition, one living thing out of five hundred, out of the men and cattle and asses and flocks.* 29. *From their half you shall take it and shall give it to Eleazar the priest as a portion reserved for Yahwè.* 30. *And from the half of the children of Israel thou shalt take one drawn out of every fifty of the men, of the herds, of the asses, of the flocks, of all the cattle, and shall give them to the Levites who attend to the care of Yahwè's tabernacle.*

31. *So Moses and Eleazar the priest did as Yahwè had commanded Moses.* 32. *And the booty, that which had been left alive of the plunder which the people of the expedition made, was six hundred and seventy-five thousand small cattle,* 33. *and seventy-two thousand large cattle,* 34. *and sixty-one thousand asses;* 35. *and with respect to persons of women that had not cohabited with a male, all the persons came to thirty-two thousand.* 36. *And the half, the portion of those who went forth on the expedition, amounted to three hundred and thirty-seven thousand, five hundred small cattle,* 37. *and the tribute from the small cattle for Yahwè was six hundred and seventy-five.* 38. *And the large cattle were thirty-six thousand, and the tribute from them for Yahwè was seventy-two.* 39. *And the asses were thirty thousand, five hundred, and the tribute from them for Yahwè was sixty-one.* 40. *And the persons were sixteen thousand, and the tribute from them for Yahwè was*

¹ 'Halve the booty,' etc. It is instructive to compare the earliest rule laid down by David, 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

thirty-two souls. 41. Then Moses gave the tribute, the portion reserved for Yahwè, to Eleazar the priest, as Yahwè had commanded Moses. 42. And from the half which fell to the children of Israel, which Moses divided from the half which belonged to the men that went out on march, 43. now the half which fell to the congregation from the small cattle was three hundred and thirty-seven thousand, five hundred, 44. and the large cattle thirty-six thousand, 45. and the asses thirty thousand, five hundred, 46. and the persons sixteen thousand; 47. from the half then of the children of Israel Moses took one drawn out of every fifty, from man and from beast, and gave them to the Levites who attend to the care of Yahwè's tabernacle, as Yahwè had commanded Moses.

48. Then came to Moses the officers which were over the thousands of the host, the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds, 49. and said to Moses, Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war which are under us, and not a man of them is missing. 50. Therefore we have brought an offering for Yahwè, each what he has got, a golden ornament, an armlet or a bracelet, a finger-ring, an ear-ring or a necklace, to make propitiation for ourselves before Yahwè. 51. So Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold from them, all sorts of artistic work, 52. and all the gold of the portion reserved which they reserved for Yahwè was sixteen thousand, seven hundred and fifty shekels from the captains of thousands and the captains of hundreds. 53. The [common] soldiers had taken booty each for himself. 54. And Moses and Eleazar the priest took the gold from the captains of thousands and of hundreds and brought it into the tent of meeting to secure remembrance for the children of Israel before Yahwè.

THE SETTLEMENT OF REUBEN, GAD, AND HALF MANASSEH.¹

XXXII. 1. Now the children of Reuben and the children of

¹ 'The settlement of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh.' For the great difficulties in the analysis of this chapter, see vol. i. p. 185, n. 2. The language of P clearly appears in the verses here assigned to him, and the

Gad had much cattle, 2^b. and they spoke to Moses and Eleazar the priest and to the princes of the congregation, saying, 4^b. The land which Yahwè smote before the congregation of Israel is a land for cattle.

6. *And Moses said to the children of Gad and of Reuben, Shall your brethren go to the war, while you sit here?* 7. *And why will you discourage the heart of the children of Israel from crossing to the land which Yahwè has given them?* 8. *Thus did your fathers, when I sent them from Kadesh-barnea to see the land.* 9. *And they went up to the ravine of Eshcol and saw the land and discouraged the heart of the children of Israel that they should not go into the land which Yahwè had given them.* 10. *And Yahwè's anger was kindled on that day, so that he swore saying,* 11. *None*

substance of his account differs in a very marked way from that of the earlier documents. Gad and Reuben do not need to be reproved by Moses. They are eager of themselves to lead the van in the invasion of Western Palestine. Again there is no question of the Manassites seizing Gilead by their own prowess and renaming the towns. The country is allotted to the tribes east of the Jordan, and that not simply, as in one form of the older story, by Moses, but by Moses and Eleazar the priest.

The section 6-15 is of peculiar character. Kuenen has shown (see vol. i. *loc. cit.*) that it belongs to one of the latest stages in the composition of the Hexateuch. The author was acquainted with P, from whom he borrows the statement that Joshua was one of the spies. This directly contradicts the older account in Num. xiv. (see especially ver. 24) and Deut. i. 35, 36. Still the writer does not, like most late writers in the Hexateuch, imitate consciously or unconsciously the style of P. On the contrary he adopts that of the Deuteronomical school and not only so; in his narrative as a whole and in his hortatory spirit he betrays the influence of Deuteronomy rather than of P.

Since the first volume was written, Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* has appeared, and has changed my opinion on one or two important details. I now see that vv. 16 and 17 should have been assigned to the older documents, probably to the Elohist. Bacon also seems to me right in rejecting Dillman's view that ver. 40 belongs to P. It is a harmonistic addition designed to soften the previous statement that Manassites won Gilead and occupied it on their own authority. It may be said to prepare the way for P. But it is not from him, or, even, perhaps, as late as he. For according to P, as was pointed out in vol. i., Machir was the only son of Manasseh; and a great-grandson of his was contemporary with Moses. P could not therefore have written ver. 40, which in his mouth would have implied that the Manassites were all settled on the east of the Jordan. We shall find later on that he was very far from thinking any thing of the sort.

of the men that have come up from Egypt from twenty years old and upwards shall see the ground which I promised by an oath to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, since they have not shown me full obedience, 12. except Caleb son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite and Joshua the son of Nun, since they have shown full obedience to Yahwè 13. So the anger of Yahwè was kindled against Israel, and he made them wander in the wilderness forty years, till all the generation was consumed that had done evil in the eyes of Yahwè. 14 And, behold, you have risen in your fathers' place a brood of sinners, so as to add yet more to the heat of Yahwè's anger against Israel. 15. If you turn back from following him, he will leave them still longer in the wilderness, and you will ruin all the people.

. . . 18. We will not return to our homes, till the children of Israel have obtained each his inheritance, 19. for we shall not inherit with them across the Jordan and onwards, because our inheritance has come to us on this side of the Jordan eastward . . . 22. ^a. And the land shall be subdued before Yahwè.

28. And Moses gave directions concerning them to Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and the heads of the families composing the tribes of Israel. 29 And Moses said to them, If the children of Gad and Reuben will cross the Jordan with you, every man that is armed for battle before Yahwè, and the land is subdued before you, then you shall give them the land of Gilead as a possession. 30. But if they will not cross with you armed, then they shall have a possession in the midst of you in the land of Canaan. 31. And the children of Gad and of Reuben answered, saying, That which Yahwè has spoke to thy servants, we will do. 32. We will cross armed before Yahwè into the land of Canaan, but the possession of our inheritance shall be secured for us beyond Jordan. 33. So Moses gave to them, to the children of Gad and Reuben and the half tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites and of Og king of Bashan, the land with its cities including their districts, the cities of the land all around.

ITINERARY OF THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE WILDERNESS.¹

XXXIII. 1. *The following are the stations of the children of Israel in which they went forth from the land of Egypt by their hosts under the guidance of Moses and Aaron.* 2. *Now Moses wrote according to Yahwè's command their stations from which they went forth, and the following are the places from which they went forth.* 3. *They set out from Rameses in the first month on the fifteenth day of the first month: on the day after the Passover the children of Israel went forth with a high hand in the sight of all the Egyptians.* 4. *And the Egyptians were burying those among them whom Yahwè slew, all firstborn, for Yahwè had executed his judgments on their gods.* 5. *So the children of Israel set out from Rameses and encamped in Succoth.* 6. *And they set out from Succoth and encamped in Etham, which is on the edge of the wilderness.* 7. *And they set out from Etham and turned back² to Pi-hahiroth, which lies east of Baal-Zephon, and encamped east of Migdol.* 8. *And they set out from Pi-hahiroth³ and passed through the midst of the sea to the wilderness and went three days journey in the wilderness of Etham and encamped in Marah.* 9. *And they set out from*

¹ 'Itinerary of the journey through the wilderness,' xxxiii. 1-49. The late character of the chapter appears from the following considerations. The language on the whole is that of P, but in contrast to the method of P notices have been introduced from the older documents. Comp. ver. 8 with Exod. xv. 22, ver. 9 with Exod. xv. 27, ver. 14 with Exod. xvii. *seq.*, ver. 16 with Num. xi. 34, ver. 17 with Num. xi. 35, ver. 40 with Num. xxi. 1-3. The last case deserves particular notice, because of the awkwardness and consequent confusion with which the borrowed material is used. The list of stations is said to have been written down by Moses himself, and this lends some probability to the view that the editor did not himself compile this account of the itinerary but found it in a separate form (so Holzinger, i. p. 499). It is impossible to say how far the list of names has any historical worth. The scheme is certainly artificial, for we have forty stations (subtracting Rameses the starting point and the plains of Moab the terminus) in exact correspondence with the forty years of wandering in the wilderness.

² 'Turned back.' The Sam. has the plural form of the verb, which is required by the sense.

³ 'From Pi-hahiroth.' So Sam., Pesh., Onk., Vulg., and even some Heb. manuscripts.

Marah and came to Elim: now in Elim there were twelve fountains of water and seventy palm-trees, and they encamped there. 1 And they set out from Elim and encamped by the Red Sea. 1 And they set out from the Red Sea and encamped in the wilderness of Sin. 12. And they set out from the wilderness of Sin and encamped in Dophkah. 13. And they set out from Dophkah and encamped in Alush. 14. And they set out from Alush and encamped in Rephidim: now there was no water there for the people to drink. 15. And they set out from Rephidim and encamped in the wilderness of Sinai. 16. And they set out from the wilderness of Sinai and encamped in Kibroth-hattaavah. 17. And they set out from Kibroth-hattaavah and encamped in Hazeroth. 18. And they set out from Hazeroth and encamped in Rithmah. 19. And they set out from Rithmah and encamped in Rimmon-peres. 20. And they set out from Rimmon-peres and encamped in Libnah. 21. And they set out from Libnah and encamped in Rissah. 22. And they set out from Rissah and encamped in Kehelathah. 23. And they set out from Kehelathah and encamped in mount Shepher. 24. And they set out from mount Shepher and encamped in Haradah. 25. And they set out from Haradah and encamped in Makheloth. 26. And they set out from Makheloth and encamped in Tahath. 27. And they set out from Tahath and encamped in Terah. 28. And they set out from Terah and encamped in Mithkah. 29. And they set out from Mithkah and encamped in Hashmonah. 30. And they set out from Hashmonah and encamped in Moseroth. 31. And they set out from Moseroth and encamped in Bene-jaakan. 32. And they set out from Bene-jaakan and encamped in Hor-haggidgad. 33. And they set out from Hor-haggidgad and encamped in Jotbathah. 34. And they set out from Jotbathah and encamped in Abronah. 35. And they set out from Abronah and encamped in Ezion-geber. 36. And they set out from Ezion-geber and encamped in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh. 37. And they set out from Kadesh and encamped in the mount Hor at the extremity of the land of Edom. 38. And Aaron the priest went up to mount Hor according to Yahweh's bidding.

and died there, in the fortieth year after the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of Egypt in the fifth month on the first of the month. 39. Now Aaron was a hundred and twenty-three years old when he died in mount Hor. 40. Now the Canaanite the king of Arad who dwelt in the south district in the land of Canaan heard of the coming of the children of Israel. . . .¹ 41. And they set out from mount Hor and encamped in Zalmonah. 42. And they set out from Zalmonah and encamped in Punon. 43. And they set out from Punon and encamped in Oboth. 44. And they set out from Oboth and encamped in Iye-abarim in the territory of Moab. 45. And they set out from Iyim and encamped in Dibon-gad. 46. And they set out from Dibon-gad and encamped in Almon-diblathaim. 47. And they set out from Almon-diblathaim, and encamped in the mountains of Abarim east of Nebo. 48. And they set out from the mountains of Abarim and encamped in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. 49. Then they encamped by the Jordan from Beth-jeshimoth to Abel-shittim in the plains of Moab.

DIRECTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE CONQUEST AND DIVISION
OF CANAAN.²

50. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses in the plains of Moab by

¹ 'The coming of the children of Israel.' The conclusion of this parenthetic notice seems to have been dropped out of the text. In the fragment of an older itinerary given in Deut. x. 6, 7, the order of the stations is different, and Aaron is said to have died at Moserah, not, as here, on Mount Hor.

² 'Directions with regard to the conquest,' etc. Nothing of the sort can be more instructive than a comparison of the conquest as given in P and in the older accounts. See especially vol. i. p. 225 *seq.* In the Priestly Writer the historical interest in the proper sense is extinct. He really does not trouble himself to give any account of the conquest, so that the title which has been placed at the head of this section is in part, though inevitably, misleading. He takes the conquest for granted. To him Palestine is a *tabula rasa* to be divided by the High Priest, who is significantly mentioned first, and by Joshua, the military and civil leader. Its importance lies in the fact that it is to be the place for the erection of the theocracy over which the High Priest presides. Here we have the same spirit which prevails throughout the

the Jordan at Jericho, saying, 51. Speak to the children of Is and say to them, When you pass over the Jordan into the land of Canaan, 52. you shall drive out¹ all the inhabitants of the land from before you and shall destroy all their figures of their [idols] and you shall destroy all their molten images and waste all their high places. 53. And you shall take the land in possession and dwell there, since it is to you I have given the land in possession. 54. And you shall appropriate the land among yourselves by lot according to your tribes: for that which is numerous shall give a large portion, and for that which is small you shall give a portion that is small. Wherever the lot falls for any tribe, that shall be his, according to your ancestral tribes you shall inherit. 55. But if you do not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, it will come to pass that those you leave will prick in your eyes and thorns in your sides, and they shall be a curse and a reproach to you.

Priestly narrative. The creation is important, because the heavenly bodies determine the date of the Jewish feasts and the days of the week contain the holy Sabbath. The flood is important, because it was the occasion for the covenant with Noah and the law which binds proselytes of alien blood. In the patriarchal history it is on the institution of circumcision and the kindred topics, e.g. the claim of the Hebrews to Canaan (Gen. xxiii.) that the writer dilates at length. Here we have the proclamation at great length of a law which is almost wholly ceremonial. Now at last the conquest supplies the basis on which, the ground being cleared, the whole structure of the theocratic law can be set up.

¹ 'You shall drive out,' etc. Driver holds that in vv. 52, 53, 55, 56 we have fragments from the 'Law of Holiness' combined with the rest of the section 50-56, which is from P. He points out that the words here translate 'figures' of idols and 'high places' never occur in the Pentateuch except in the 'Law of Holiness,' Lev. xxvi. 1, 30. It is a still stronger reason for attributing the verses in question to the 'Law of Holiness,' that they give motive for obedience, which is quite in the manner of that little code (as also of the earlier codes) but is not consistent with the style of P. Moreover, since the verses can be removed without injury to the sense, it is strange that although Kuenen's judgment with regard to vv. 52, 55, 56 anticipates that of De Wette (Kuen. *Onderz.* i. i. vi. 39. and comp. Dillm. *ad loc.*), no notice is taken of the passage by Bähr (Bähr, *Heiligkeitssatz*, *ad init.*), or by Holzinger (i. p. 100, *seq.*). But the favourite formula in the 'Law of Holiness,' 'I am Yahweh your God,' is absent, and though confident that the writer here was influenced by reminiscences of the 'Law of Holiness,' I have not ventured to mark any verse as a fragment pure and simple of that law.

afflict you in the land wherein you dwell. 56. And it shall come to pass that, as I purposed to do to them, I shall do to you.

XXXIV. 1. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 2. Command the children of Israel and say to them, When you come into the land of Caanan, this is the land which will fall to you as an inheritance, the land of Canaan in its full extent. 3. And your southern boundary shall be from the wilderness of Zin along Edom, and your southern boundary shall be from the end of the Salt Sea eastward: 4. then your boundary shall turn south of the ascent of Akrabbim and pass to Zin, till it goes out south of Kadesh-barnea and proceeds to Hazar-addar and passes to Azmon: 5. finally the boundary shall turn from Azmon to the ravine of Egypt, till it ends at the sea.

6. And as for the western boundary, the Great Sea shall be for you at the same time a boundary: this shall be your western boundary.

7. And this shall be your northern boundary: from the Great Sea you shall mark out for yourselves mount Hor: 8. from mount Hor you shall draw the line till it reaches the way to Hamath, till the boundary comes to a stop at Zedad: 9. next the boundary shall proceed to Ziphron, till it stops at Hazar-enan: this shall be your northern boundary.

10. And you shall mark out [?] for yourselves¹ as the eastern border from Hazar-enan to Shepham: 11. then the boundary shall descend from Shepham to Riblah east of Ain: next the boundary shall descend and shall skirt the mountain ridge east of the sea of Chinnereth: 12. finally the boundary shall descend to the Jordan and end with the Salt Sea.

Thus you shall reckon the land to its full extent all round.

¹ 'You shall mark out for yourselves.' The reading, and the sense of this word and of another similar in form, which occupies ver. 7, and is translated 'mark out,' are extremely doubtful. The word, as it stands here, would naturally mean 'desire for yourselves,' and that is in fact the rendering suggested by Dillm. and in Stade and Siegfried's *Lexicon*. It is quite true that the boundaries here given are ideal. But it is difficult to believe that the author meant to represent them as merely ideal.

13. And Moses commanded the children of Israel, This is the land which you shall take as a heritage by which Yahwè commanded to be given to the nine tribes : half tribe, 14. since the families that belong to the tribe Reubenites and the families that belong to the tribe of the (and the half of the tribe of Manasseh have taken their inher 15. Two tribes and a half tribe have taken their inher across the Jordan at Jericho eastward towards the sunrising

16. And Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 17. These are names of the men who shall apportion the land to you, 1 the priest and Joshua the son of Nun. 18. And you shall take a prince from each tribe to allot the land. 19. Now these are names of the men : Caleb the son of Jephunneh for the tribe of Judah, 20. Shemuel son of Ammihud for the tribe of the children of Simeon, 21. Elidad son of Chislon for the tribe of Benjamin, 22. and as prince for the tribe of the children of Dan, the son of Jogli, 23. for the children of Joseph ; as prince for the tribe of the children of Manasseh Hanniel son of Ephraim and Kemuel son of Shiphtan as prince for the tribe of the children of Ephraim, 25. and Elizaphan son of Parnach as prince for the tribe of the children of Zebulun, 26. and Paltiel the son of Lafran as prince for the tribe of the children of Issachar, 27. and Ahiashar the son of Shelomi as prince for the tribe of the children of Asher, 28. and as prince for the tribe of the children of Naphtali Pedahel the son of Ammihud. 29. These are they whom Yahwè appointed to assign the children of Israel their inheritance in the land of Canaan.

LEVITICAL CITIES AND CITIES OF REFUGE.

XXXV. 1. Then Yahwè spoke to Moses, in the plain of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho, saying, 2. Bid the children of Israel give the Levites from their own hereditary possession to dwell in :¹ you shall also give the Levites pasture-land for

¹ 'Give the Levites . . . cities to dwell in,' etc. It may be safely assumed that the grant of special cities to the Levites and priests is a fiction

cities round about them. 3. And the cities shall be for them to dwell in, and the pasture-lands shall be for their cattle and for their herds and all their [other] beasts. 4. Now the pasture-lands of the cities which you shall give the Levites shall go from the wall of the city onwards a thousand cubits every way. 5. And you shall measure outside of the city the eastern side two thousand cubits, and the southern side two thousand cubits, and the western side two thousand cubits, and the northern side two thousand cubits, and the city shall be in the midst. Such shall you make the pasture-lands of the cities. 6. And as for the cities which you shall give to the Levites, you shall give the six

opposed to the clearest and best ascertained facts in the history of Israel. According to Deut. xviii. 1. the Levites were to have no territorial possession in Israel, while ver. 6 in the same chapter distinctly implies that they were scattered throughout various Israelite cities in which they are said to 'sojourn,' *i.e.* to live among men of another tribe without any permanent inheritance of their own. It is equally certain that Ezekiel had never heard of Levitical cities as described here, for without the remotest reference to any such arrangement he proceeds, in xlv. *seq.*, to propound a scheme by which the Levites are to have a slice of land apportioned to them, and there they are to live together, not as here in cities scattered throughout the land. Nor is there any authority to adduce on the other side. Lev. xxv. 32-34, Josh. xxi. all belong, like the passage before us, to some stratum of P; the allusion in 1 Chron. xiii. 2 has no support in the Book of Kings, and is simply due to the fact that the chronicler had read and of course accepted the Pentateuch. 'Many of the cities mentioned,' says Dillm., 'did not come into the hands of Israel till centuries later, and in the time of the Judges we find the Levites scattered all over the land (Gen. xlix. 7), and dwelling in cities which are not named here as assigned to them.' Add to this that the requirements here made involve physical impossibility. 'Some of the cities (the names are given in Josh. xxi.) lay so near each other that the pasture-land fixed by law for one city would have overlapped that assigned to its neighbour (this would have been the case with Hebron and Holon, Anathoth and Almon), while the pasture-land given to Hammoth-dor would have included part of the Sea of Galilee' (Nowack, *Hebr. Archäol.* ii. p. 129). There is a practical unanimity of critics on this point. See among scholars opposed to Wellh. and his school, Dillm. *ad loc.*, Baudissin *A. T. Priestertum*, p. 102 *seq.* Even Strack admits (*Commentary on Numb.*, p. 472), that 'the law never seems to have attained complete realisation,' and that 'some of the Levitical cities, such as Gezer, did not come into Israelite hands till a very late period.'

cities of refuge,¹ that the homicide may flee thither, and besides them you shall give forty-two cities. 7. All the cities which you have to give to the Levites shall be forty-eight, the cities themselves and their pasture-lands. 8. Further, as to the cities which you shall give out of those which the children of Israel possess, from those that are numerous, you shall take many, and from those that are few, few; each in proportion to his inheritance which they severally inherit, shall give of his cities to the Levites.

9. Also Yahwè spoke to Moses, saying, 10. Speak to the children of Israel and say to them, When you cross the Jordan to the land of Canaan, 11. you shall appoint for yourselves cities to serve you as cities of refuge,² that the homicide who has slain a person without intention may flee there. 12. And the city shall provide you with a refuge from the avenger, that the homicide may not die till he stands before the congregation for judgment. 13. And as for the cities you are to give, there shall be six cities of refuge for you. 14. Three of the cities you shall give across the Jordan, and three of the cities you shall give in the land of Canaan; cities of refuge shall they be. 15. These six cities shall serve as a refuge for the children of Israel and for the settler who has come to live amongst you, that ever one who slays a person without intention may flee there.

16. Now if he struck him with an iron weapon, so that he died, he is a murderer; the murderer shall be put to death without fail. 17. And if he struck him with a stone cast by the

¹ You shall give the six cities of refuge.' I have followed Kautzsch in omitting אשר which makes the sentence unintelligible.

² 'Cities of refuge.' In Deut. xix. we have, as was shown there, a very marked advance on the 'Book of the Covenant,' Exod. xxi. 12-14. Here we have an advance, not so marked, yet distinct, on Deuteronomy. In Deut. xix. three cities of refuge are assigned, to which three more are to be added, Israel's territory reaches the full extent promised. Here six cities are to be assigned at once and unconditionally: the rules given are more detailed and for the first time the cities receive a technical name, 'cities of miqlat' (cities of refuge, instead of which Deuteronomy employs a periphrasis, cities 'thither, every man-slayer may flee thither,' etc.

hand, such as might be the death of a man, and he did die, he is a murderer; the murderer shall be put to death without fail. 18. Or if he struck him with a wooden tool taken in the hand, such as might be the death of a man, and he did die, he is a murderer; the murderer shall be put to death without fail. 19. It is the avenger of blood who shall put the murderer to death: when he finds him, he shall kill him. 20. And if he thrust at him in hatred or laid plot for him, so that he died, 21. or struck with his hand in enmity, so that he died, the man that slew is a murderer; the avenger of blood shall slay the murderer when he finds him.

22. But if he thrust him suddenly without [settled] enmity or hurled any implement at him without lying in wait, 23. or [struck him] with any stone which might kill a man [but] without seeing, and hit him with it so that he died, though he was not his enemy or one that sought to do him a mischief, 24. then the congregation shall decide between him who struck the blow and the avenger of blood, according to these rules, 25. and the congregation shall deliver the homicide from the power of the avenger of blood, and the congregation shall bring him back to his city of refuge whither he has fled, and he shall dwell there till the death of the high priest¹ whom they have anointed with the holy oil. 26. But if the homicide go forth at all beyond the bounds of his city of refuge whither he has fled, 27. and the avenger of blood find him outside of the bounds of his city of refuge, then the avenger of blood may slay the homicide

¹ 'Till the death of the high priest.' A significant addition to the law in Deuteronomy. So long as Israel had a national life, dates were reckoned by the years of the king's reign. Now Israel is a church, and a new epoch begins with a new High Priest. To a certain extent the glory of Aaron was obscured by the unique position of Moses. When once the death of Moses is imminent Eleazar becomes, or is just about to become, the supreme power in the theocracy. Although Moses lays his hands on Joshua and so installs him, he is also brought before Eleazar the priest (Num. xxvii. 15-23), and henceforth the order of the names is 'Eleazar and Joshua' (Num. xxxiv. 17; Josh. xiv. 1, xix. 51, xxi. 1), not 'Joshua and Eleazar,' on the analogy of Moses and Aaron.

without guilt of murder; 28. for he is to dwell in his city of refuge till the death of the high priest, but after the death of the high priest the homicide may return to the land where his property lies. 29. These then shall serve you as rules for decision in the course of your generations in all the places where you dwell.

30. Whenever any one slays another, the murderer shall be executed on the word of witnesses, but the testimony of one witness shall not suffice for his death. 31. Nor shall you take ransom for the murderer's life who is guilty of a capital crime: but he shall by all means be put to death. 32. Nor shall you accept ransom with respect to flight to a city where he may take refuge, so that he may return and dwell in [his own] land before the high priest's death. 33. So you shall not profane the land in which you are, for blood profanes the land, and no propitiation can be made for the land with regard to the blood that has been shed therein, save by the blood of him who shed it. 34. Nor shalt thou defile the land wherein you dwell, in the midst of which I have my abode: for I Yahwè have my abode among the children of Israel.

SUPPLEMENTARY LAW ON HEIRESSSES.

XXXVI. 1. Then the ancestral heads of the clans of the children of Gilead, son of Machir son of Manasseh, of the clans of the children of Joseph, drew near and spoke before Moses and the princes, the ancestral heads of the children of Israel, 2. and said, Yahwè commanded my lord to give the land as an inheritance by lot to the children of Israel, and my lord received commandment from Yahwè to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our kinsman to his daughters. 2. Now if they are married to any of the members of the [other] tribes of the children of Israel, their inheritance will be withdrawn from the inheritance of our fathers, and their inheritance will be added to the inheritance of the tribe into which they marry; then their inheritance will be withdrawn from the inheritance of the tribe

of our fathers. 4. And if the year of jubilee come to the children of Israel, their inheritance shall be added to the inheritance of the tribe into which they marry, and their inheritance will be withdrawn from the inheritance of our father's tribe. 5. So Moses commanded the children of Israel at Yahwè's bidding, saying, The tribe of the sons of Joseph speaks right. 6. This is the thing which Yahwè commanded with regard to the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, They shall be married to any one that pleases them: only they shall be married within the kindred of their father's tribe. 7. Thus an inheritance among the children of Israel shall not go about from tribe to tribe: rather the children of Israel shall cleave each to the inheritance of his father's tribe. 8. And every daughter who acquires an inheritance in one of the tribes of the children of Israel shall be given in marriage to one of the kindred of her father's tribe, that the children of Israel may possess each the inheritance of his fathers. 9. Thus no inheritance shall move from one tribe to another: rather the tribes of the children of Israel shall cleave each to his inheritance.

10. As Yahwè had commanded Moses, so the daughters of Zelophehad did. 11. And Mahlah, Tirzah, and Hoglah and Milcah, and Noah, the daughters of Zelophehad, were married to their uncle's sons. 12. They were married within the clans of the children of Manasseh the son of Joseph, and so their inheritance remained with the tribe of their father's clan.

13. *These are the commandments¹ and the judgments which Yahwè imparted through Moses to the children of Israel in the steppes of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.*

¹ 'These are the commandments,' etc. As a matter of fact the Mosaic legislation given by P ends here. The concluding verse is therefore quite appropriate and might belong to the original code. Nevertheless it is almost exactly like the concluding verse of Leviticus, which cannot be naturally accounted for except as the conclusion of the Book of Leviticus. In other words, Lev. xxvii. 34 must have been added when the present division of the law into five books was made, and that being so, it is almost impossible to resist the inference that Numb. xxxvi. 13 was added in the same way and for the same motive.

THE DEATH OF MOSES.¹

DEUT. I. 3. And it came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first of the month, that Moses spoke to the children of Israel according to all that Yahwè had commanded him for them. XXXII. 48. And Yahwè spoke to Moses on this self-same day, saying, 49. Go up to the mountain range of Abarim to this mount Nebo which is in the land of Moab that lies east of Jericho. 50. For thou art to die in the mountain to which thou goest up and to be gathered to thy kinsfolk, as Aaron thy brother died in mount Hor and was gathered to his kinsfolk, 51. because you committed treason against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin, inasmuch as you did not acknowledge my holiness in the midst of the children of Israel. 52. For thou shalt see the land opposite, but shalt not enter therein, into the land which I am giving to the children of Israel.

¹ 'The death of Moses,' Deut. i. 3, xxxii. 48-52. The marks of P's style are here easily recognised. Indeed the verses abound with phrases and turns of expression characteristic of him and never used by the Deuteronomist or the writers of his school. Such are the exact date and its form in i. 3, 'the self-same day' (as Gen. vii. 13, xvii. 23, 26, and *passim* in P), 'for a possession' (Lev. xiv. 34 and often in P), 'gathered to thy kinsfolk' (Gen xxv. 8, xxxv. 29, and often in P), תוך instead of קרב (as in Deuteronomy), for 'midst,' the form אני for the first personal pronoun as in P instead of the longer form. The whole section, xxxii. 48-52, is mostly a verbal repetition of Numb. xxvii. 12-14. Did P then repeat himself? This is not his way, and therefore there is some ground for attributing the repetition here to a later writer using his style. At the same time there is here no servile imitation. P had a special reason for repeating himself here, because between the original announcement of Moses's impending death and the death itself he had interposed the appointment of Joshua (Numb. xxvii. 15-23), the allotment of the land east of Jordan (xxxii. in part), the directions for the allotment of west Palestine (xxxiii. 50—xxxiv. 29), and for the cities of refuge and Levitical cities (xxxv.), besides the supplementary laws on heiresses (xxxvi.). As for Deut. i. 3, it is certainly in the style of P, and may have been placed at first as the introductory sentence of this section.

XXXIV. 1^b. So Moses¹ went up from the steppes of Moab to mount Nebo [and Yahwè showed him all the land of] *Gilead to Dan, 2. and all Naphtali and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh and all the land of Judah to the western sea, 3. and the south land and the circle [of the Jordan], the plain of the city of Palms, [i.e.] Jericho as far as Zoar. . . . 7^a*. Now Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died. 8. And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the steppes of Moab for thirty days, till the days of weeping in lamentation for Moses were ended. 9. But Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom, because Moses had laid his hands upon him; so the children of Israel obeyed him, and did as Yahwè had commanded Moses.

JOSH. IV. 13. *About forty thousand men armed for the march crossed before Yahwè for the war to the steppes of Jericho.*²

19. So the people went up³ from the Jordan on the tenth of the first month and encamped in Gilgal at the east end of [the territory of] Jericho. V. 10. So the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the Passover on the fourteenth

¹ 'So Moses,' etc. Here again the marks of P are clear. Such are the 'Steppes of Moab' (as in P throughout Numbers), the construction of 7^a, which is exactly like that in Numb. xxxiii. 39, the thirty days mourning as for Aaron in Numb. xx. 29, the laying on of hands as in Numb. xxvii. 18, 23. Probably Dillm. is right in regarding the list of names (Gilead—Zoar) as a late addition. They are absent in Sam.

² 'Steppes of Jericho.' This expression is an undoubted mark of P. But the number 40,000 for the two and a half tribes is far too low for P, according to whom Reuben alone counted more than 40,000 fighting men (Numb. xxvi. 5 *seq.*). Either the verse is a conglomerate of P with a fragment of an older document from which the estimate of number is taken, or the whole verse has been inserted by a late editor.

³ 'So the people went up,' etc., iv. 19, v. 10-12 are unquestionably from P. This appears from the precision of the dates and the way in which these dates are given ('first month,' not, as in the older writers, 'Abib'), and from the rest of the language 'Steppes of Jericho,' 'self-same day.' Here we have a practical unanimity among critics. Albers quotes Vatke, Knobel, Schrader, Nöldeke, Wellh., Kuen., Dillm., Kittel. It is also almost certain that iv. 19 was in P immediately followed by v. 10-12. See Albers, *Quellenberichte in Jos. i.-xii.*, p. 84.

day of the month in the evening in the steppes of Jerich
 11. And they ate from the produce of the land on the day
 after the Passover unleavened bread and roasted grain on the
 self-same day. 12. Now the manna ceased on the following
 day when they ate of the produce of the land, and the children
 of Israel had no more manna, but they ate of that which grew
 in the land of Canaan during this year.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE STORY OF ACHAN.¹

VII. 1. Now the children of Israel committed treason against
 Yahwè in respect to the ban, for Achan the son of Carmi, the
 son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took some
 of that which was under ban, so that Yahwè's wrath was kindled
 against the children of Israel.

. . . 18^{ba}. Achan the son of Carmi, the son of Zabdi, the son
 of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah. . . . 25^{ba}. And all Israel stoned
 him with stones.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE STORY OF THE GIBEONITES.²

IX. 15^b. And the princes of the congregation gave them promises

¹ 'Fragments from the story of Achan.' In ver. 1, which can be omitted without injury to the context of the chapter, we have two indubitable traces of P, the word translated 'committed treason' and the word used for 'tribe'. On the other hand, the phrase used for Yahwè's anger is not that which P would have used, so that P's text has not been preserved in its purity. The word for 'stone' is also characteristic of P, and the composite character of ver. 25^b, as it stands in our present text, speaks for itself, 'And all Israel stoned him with stones' (רָגְמוּ P), 'and they burned them with fire' (Deut.), 'and they stoned them with stones' (סָקְלוּ, see vol. i. p. 213, n. 4).'

² 'Fragments from the story of the Gibeonites.' The language ('princes' and 'congregation,' לְבִי for 'murmur,' אַפַּיִם for 'wrath') is that of P, and the verses furnish a continuous and consistent narrative, except that some words have fallen out in ver. 20. Moreover P takes his own view of the facts. It is the 'princes of the congregation,' not Joshua as in the older documents, who make the treaty: objections to this treaty arise after the Israelites have marched to their cities, not in the camp at Gilgal: the Gibeonites become 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' to the congregation, but they are not,

[of safety] on oath. 17. Then the children of Israel set forth and came to their cities on the third day: now, their cities were Gibeon and Chephirah and Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim. 18. But the children of Israel did not smite them, because the princes of the congregation had made a promise to them on oath by Yahwè the God of Israel, but all the congregation murmured against the princes. 19. Then all the princes said to all the congregation, We have sworn to them by Yahwè the God of Israel: now therefore we cannot touch them. 20. This shall we do to them . . . and let them live, that no [divine] wrath come on us because of the oath which we have sworn to them. 21. And the princes said to them, Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and drawers of water to all the congregation, as the princes had told them.

DIVISION OF LAND EAST OF JORDAN.¹

XIII. 14^b. This is the division which Moses made to the

as in the older documents, attached to the service of the 'house of God' and 'altar of Yahwè.' This last point is most significant. Till the close of Israel's history as a nation, heathen slaves and soldiers were employed without scruple in the service of the temple and even of the altar: against this custom, evidently existing in his time, Ezekiel (xliv. 6 *seq.*, comp. 2 Kings xi. 4 *seq.*) made a vigorous protest, to which effect was given by the Priestly legislation. The Levites became the ministers of the sanctuary, and the employment was considered highly honourable. Consequently P was obliged to give the story of the Gibeonites a new turn. How could he represent them as condemned to an office which belonged of divine right to the Levites and was of course their glory?

¹ 'Division of the land east of Jordan.' The language on the whole, and certainly the framework of xiii. 14^b (LXX.)-32 is that of P. This becomes, if possible, still more clear, when the superscription, unquestionably authentic (Hollenberg, *Program. on the Text of Joshua*, p. 14, Dillm., Kuen.), has been restored from the LXX. There are, however, traces of other hands. Thus in ver. 31 the view of P that Machir was the only son of Manasseh, so that only half of the sons of Machir were settled east of Jordan, is united with that of the older documents (see vol. i. p. 185, n. 2), that Manasseh had other sons. Vv. 21^b-22 are an interpolation of very late character. Not only are they based on the account of the war with Midian (Num. xxxi.), itself a late addition to P, but the 'kings of Midian' are here turned into princes dependent on Sihon and involved in his overthrow. Ver. 22 is an excerpt of Num. xxxi. 8.

children of Israel in the steppes of Moab across the J opposite Jericho.

15. And Moses gave [land] to the tribe of the children of R in their clans. 16. Now their territory extended from which is on the edge of the ravine Arnon, and the city wh in the midst of the ravine and all the table-land by Medeb Heshbon and all its cities which are in the table-land, Dibo Bamoth-baal and Beth-baal-meon 18. and Jahaz and Kede and Mephaath 19. and Kiriathaim and Sibmah and Zereths on the mountain in the valley 20. and Beth-peor and the of Pisgah and Beth-jeshimoth 21. and all the cities of the land and all the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites ruled in Heshbon whom Moses smote *with the princes of M Evi and Rekem and Zur and Hur and Reba, vassal chiefs of dwelling in the land.* 22. *Also the children of Israel slew with sword, besides the [other] slain, Baalam the son of Beor the sayer.* 23. And the boundary of the children of Reuben w Jordan as boundary line. Such was the inheritance of the dren of Reuben in their clans, the cities and their villages.

24. And Moses gave to the tribe of Gad, to the children o in their clans. 25. And their boundary was Jazer and all the of Gilead and half the land of the children of Ammon to which is east of Rabbah, 26. and from Heshbon to Ramoth-r and Betonim and from Mahanaim to the territory of Lidebi and in the valley Beth-haram and Beth-nimrah and Succoth Zaphon, the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbor the Jordan as boundary to the [south] end of the sea of nereth on the east side of Jordan. 27. Such was the inheri of the children of Gad in their families, the cities and villages.

29. And Moses gave [land] to the half tribe of Manasseh the half tribe of the children of Manasseh in their clans rec [as follows]: 30. now their territory extended from Maha over all Bashan, all the kingdom of Og king of Bashan an the tent-villages of Jair which are in Bashan, sixty cities, 31.

- : half Gilead, with Ashtaroth and Edrei cities of Og's kingdom in Bashan. [*This fell*] to the children of Machir the son of Manasseh, to half of the children of Machir in their clans.

These are the inheritances which Moses distributed in the steppes of Moab beyond Jordan eastward [opposite] Jericho.

DIVISION OF THE LAND WEST OF JORDAN.

XVIII. 1. Then the whole congregation¹ of the children of Israel was gathered together at Shilo² and they placed the tent of meeting there, for the land had been subdued before them. XIV. 1. Now these are [the territories] which the children of Israel received as an inheritance in the land of Canaan which Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and the ancestral

¹ 'Then the whole congregation,' etc., xviii. 1. This verse, which clearly belongs to P, has a curious history. In the Book of Joshua, as we have it, it occurs after a detailed account of the territory given by lot to Judah, Benjamin and the half tribe of Manasseh. This of course involves positive absurdity. We expect to be told that the land has been subdued before any division is made, especially division to two and a half great and important tribes. And why should allotment be made in correct priestly fashion at the common sanctuary to seven tribes and only to them? Moreover this would flatly contradict xiv. 2, which is also P. All these difficulties disappear if we place xviii. 1 before xiv. 1, except that we have still to account for the strange misplacement. That, however, can be satisfactorily done. The 'Oldest Book' (see vol. i. p. 229, n. 1.) in its final form represented Judah and the house of Joseph (Ephraim and half Manasseh) as conquering their territory first. After the settlement of these, the most powerful tribes, Joshua reproached the remaining seven with their inaction, bade them send out men to inspect the land, and then himself determined by lot the territory which each tribe was to have. The editor of the history of the conquest, contrary to his method in the rest of the Hexateuch, made the older documents the basis of his account of the conquest (from Josh. xiii. and onwards) and endeavoured, by misplacing xviii. 1, to harmonise the older view, that Canaan west of Jordan was occupied in part by Judah and Joseph separately and in part by the other seven tribes conjointly, with the symmetrical but much more unhistorical representation of P, that the whole land was reduced to a *tabula rasa* and then apportioned among all the nine and a half tribes by Eleazar the priest.

² 'Shilo.' This was a very ancient sanctuary of the tribe of Joseph, and the ark, originally perhaps a palladium of the 'sons' of Joseph, was at one time placed there. But the sanctuary was not a tent, but a temple (היכל) 1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 15) with hinges and doors (1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 15).

heads of the tribes of the children of Israel gave them for an inheritance. 2. They obtained their inheritance by lot,¹ as Yahwè had commanded through Moses with respect to the nine tribes and the half tribe. 3. For Moses had given the inheritance of the two tribes and the half tribe beyond Jordan, but in the midst of them he gave no inheritance to the Levites. 4. For the children of Joseph formed two tribes, Manasseh and Ephraim, but they gave the Levites no portion in the land except cities to dwell in and their pasture-lands for their herds and possessions. 5. As Yahwè commanded Moses, so the children of Israel did and divided the land.

BOUNDARIES OF JUDAH.²

XV. 1. And the lot fell for the tribe of the children of Judah according to their clans as far as the boundary of Edom in the wilderness of Zin at the extreme south. 2. And their southern boundary ran from the end of the Salt Sea from the bay that turns southwards 3. and continued³ southward of the ascent of Akrabbim and passed along to Zin and rose in the south of Kadesh-barnea and passed Hezron and went up to Addar and turned round to Karka, 4. and passed to Azmon and continued to the ravine of Egypt, and the boundary ended at the sea.

¹ 'They obtained their inheritance by lot,' so LXX. The Massoretic text has 'by the lot of their inheritance,' which is probably corrupt.

² 'Boundaries of Judah.' What follows in ch. xv. is from P in the main, though of course it is impossible to speak with any certainty on the document from which the long lists of names have been taken. In vv. 45-47 we have a later addition. The writer, following the statement of P in ver. 12, that Judah's territory extended to the sea, proceeds to enumerate the Philistine towns as part of it. In doing so, he uses an expression borrowed from the older documents, viz., 'daughters' in the sense of dependencies, and also another expression which is characteristic of P (see v. 12), viz., the difficult phrase *וְכָל הַיָּם* 'all along the line,' meaning apparently that the sea was not merely an extreme point reached by Judah, but furnished the whole line of the west boundary.

³ 'And continued southward,' literally, 'used to continue,' but it has not been thought well to attempt an exact reproduction of the idiom.

This was to be their¹ south border. 5. And this boundary on the east was the Salt Sea to the mouth of the Jordan. And the boundary on the north side was from the bay of the sea at the mouth of the Jordan, 6. and the boundary rose to Beth-hoglah and passed north of Beth-arabah and the boundary rose to the stone of Bohan the son of Reuben, 7. and the boundary rose to Debir in the valley of Achor and so turning northward to Gilgal, which lies opposite the ascent of Adummim, which is south of the ravine: then the boundary passes to the waters of En-shemesh and proceeds further to En-rogel, 8. and the boundary rose to the valley of the son of Hinnom south of the mountain-ridge of the Jebusites: here is Jerusalem: and the boundary rose to the top of the mountain which faces to the west of the valley of Hinnom and which lies at the north end of the vale of Rephaim, 9. and the boundary bent from the top of the mountain to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah and continued to the cities of mount Ephron, and the boundary bent to Baalah which is Kiriath-jearim: 10. then the boundary turned round from Baalah westwards to mount Seir and passed over north of the ridge of mount Jearim, that is Chesalon, and descended to Beth-shemesh and passed to Timnah, 11. and the border continued northwards to the ridge of Ekron and the boundary bent to Shikkeron and passed to mount Baalah and continued to Jabneel and the border reached its limit at the sea. 12. And the western boundary was the great sea all along the line. Such was the boundary on every side of the children of Judah in their clans.

20. This is the inheritance of the various clans of the tribe of the children of Judah. 21. The cities at the extreme limit of the tribe of the children of Judah southwards towards the border of Edom were, Kabzeel and Eder and Jagur, 22. and Kinah and Dimonah and Adadah 23. and Kedesh and Hazor and Ithnan, 24. Ziph and Telem and Bealoth, 25. and Hazor-hadattah and Keriath-hezron, which is Hazor, 26. Amam and *Shema and*

¹ 'This was to be their.' So LXX. See Driver, *Heb. Tenses*, § 120, n. 1.

Moladah 27. and Hazar-gaddah and Heshmon and *Beth* 28. and *Hazar-shual and Beer-sheba and its dependencies*.¹ Baalah and Iim and Ezem 30. and Eltolad and Chesil Hormah 31. and Ziklag and Madmannah and Sansannah and Lebaoth and Shilhim and En-rimmon : ² in all twenty-cities³ with their villages.

33. In the lowlands Eshtaol and Zorah and Ashnah 34. Zanoah, and En-gannim, Tappuah, and Enam, 35. Jarmuth Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah 36. and Shaaraim and *Adith* and Gederah and Gederothaim ; fourteen cities with their villages 37. [also] Zenan and Hadashah and Migdal-gad 38. and I and Mizpeh and Joktheel, 39. Lachish and Bozkath and E 40. and Cabbon and Lahmam and Chithlish 41. and Gede Beth-dagon and Naamah and Makkedah ; sixteen cities with villages. 42. Libnah and Ether and Ashan 43. and Iphtah Ashnah and Nezib 44. and Keilah and Achzib and Mares nine cities with their villages. 45. *Ekron with its dependencies and villages*, 46. *from Ekron to the sea, all that lay by the sea* 47. *Ashdod with their villages*, 47. *Ashdod, its dependencies*

¹ 'Its dependencies.' This probably is the true reading (so LXX.) in of 'Biziothiah' (comp. Neh. xi. 27). But in that case the verse or of it must come from a later hand. See note at the beginning of chapter.

² 'En-rimmon.' So LXX., as Neh. xi. 29. The LXX. reading is, shall see, required by the numbers of the cities given in the Massoretic itself.

³ 'Twenty-nine cities with their villages.' In the Massoretic text this cities are enumerated. How is the discrepancy to be explained? Two have been removed already, but thirty-four are still left. The explanation of Hollenberg is generally accepted, and is almost certainly right. P, as has said, does not use the word 'daughters' in the sense of 'dependent' to. When then we find in Nehem. xi. 26 *seq.* the list of Judean towns, 'Je Moladah, Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual Beer-sheba and its daughters,' and Shema, Moladah, Beth-pelet, Hazar-shual, Beer-sheba 'and its daughters' we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the names have been interpolated here by a later scribe from Nehem. These names being excluded, we get proper number, viz., twenty-nine.

⁴ 'Adithaim.' This name is not found in the LXX. By removing it the text, the enumeration of fourteen cities becomes correct.

*villages, Gaza its dependencies and villages as far as the ravine of Egypt, and the boundary was the great sea all along.*¹

48. In the hill country Shamir and Jattir and Socoh 49. and Dannah and Kiriath-sannah which is Debir. 50. And Anab and Eshtemoh and Anim 51. and Goshen and Holon and Giloh; eleven cities with their villages: 52 [also] Arab and Dumah and Eshan 53. and Janim and Beth-tappuah and Aphekah 54. and Humtah and Kiriath-arba which is Hebron and Zior; nine cities with their villages: 55. [also] Maon, Carmel and Ziph and Jutah 56. and Jezreel and Jokdeam and Zanoah, 57. Kain, Gibeah and Timnah; ten cities with their villages: 58. [also] Halhul, Beth-zur and Gedor 59. and Maarath and Beth-anoth and Eltekon; six cities with their villages: Tekoa² and Ephratah, that is Bethlehem, and Peor and Etam and Kulon and Tatam and Sores and Cherem and Gallim and Baither and Mancho; eleven cities and their villages: 60. [also] Kiriath-baal, that is Kiriath-jearim and Rabbah, two cities with their villages:

61. in the wilderness Beth-arabah, Middin and Secacah, 62. and Nibshan and the city of Salt and En-gedi; six cities with their villages.

BOUNDARIES OF MANASSEH.³

XVI. 4. Then the sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, received their inheritance.

¹ 'The boundary was the great sea all along.' Kautzsch's emendation, suggested by the Massoretic text itself, has been adopted.

² 'Tekoa,' etc. This fifth group of eleven cities is taken from the LXX., but may be confidently regarded as part of the original Hebrew text: otherwise a large district of the Judæan hill country would have been ignored.

³ 'Boundaries of Manasseh.' The final editor placed the allotment of Manasseh after that made to Ephraim, because the older documents to which in this part of the history he pays unusual deference attributed to Ephraim the pre-eminence, though not the greater antiquity. See the striking story as told by the Jahvist, Gen. xlviii. 18 *seq.* vol. i. p. 99. On the other hand the Priestly Writer never recognises the pre-eminence of Ephraim, and the few cases in which he seems to mention Ephraim first (contrast his usual practice, Josh. xiv. 4, xvi. 4, Num. xxvi. 28 *seq.*, xxxiv. 23 *seq.*) are no doubt due to

XVII. 1^a. And the lot fell for the tribe of Manasseh, since he was the firstborn of Joseph. 3. Now Zelophehad, the son of Hephher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh had no sons but only daughters, and these were the names of his daughters, Mahlah and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah. 4. And they drew near before Eleazar the priest before Joshua the son of Nun, and before the princes, saying, 'Yahwè commanded Moses to give us an inheritance in the midst of our brethren; so according to Yahwè's word he gave them an inheritance in the midst of their father's brethren.' 5. Thus the lots fell to Manasseh besides the land of Gilead and Bashan which is on the other side of Jordan, 6. for the daughters of Manasseh obtained an inheritance in the midst of his sons; the land of Gilead belonged to the rest of his descendants.

. . . 7. And the boundary of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath which is before Shechem and the border went to the right to the inhabitants of En-tappuah. 9^a. And the border went down to the ravine of Kanah to the south of the ravine; then the border of Manasseh went northward of the ravine and ended at the sea. 10^a. That which was south of it belonged to Ephraim and north of it to Manasseh, and the sea formed the boundary line.

THE BOUNDARIES OF EPHRAIM.

XVI. 5. Next came the boundary of the children of Ephraim according to their clans. And on the east the border of inheritance was Ataroth-addar to the upper Beth-horon. 6. The border ended at the sea. On the north [the boundary-] was Michmethath and the boundary turned eastward to Taanach and passed along it east of Janoah 7. and descended to Janoah to Ataroth and Naarah and reached Jericho, ending

alteration of the text. Certainly the Priestly Writer placed Manasseh here. Else what does he mean by saying in xvii. 1^a, 'The lot fell to Manasse because he was the first-born'?

the Jordan. 8. From Tappuah the boundary went westward to the ravine of Kanah and ended at the sea. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim according to their clans, 9. *together with the cities¹ which belonged separately to the children of Ephraim in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities and their villages.*

THE BOUNDARIES OF BENJAMIN.

XVIII. 11^a. Then came forth the lot for the tribe of the children of Benjamin according to their clans. 12. And their boundary on the north side was from the Jordan and the boundary rose to the ridge north of Jericho and up to the mountain on the west and ended in the wilderness of Beth-aven, 13. and thence the boundary passed to Luz, to the south side of the ridge of Luz, which is Bethel, and the boundary descended to Ataroth-addar to the mountain which is on the south side of lower Beth-horon. 14. Then the boundary bent and turned so as to form the western side southwards of the mountain which lies south of Beth-horon, and it ended at Kiriath-baal which is Kiriath-jearim, a city of the children of Judah. This was the western side. 15. And the south side was from the end of Kiriath-jearim and the boundary continued westward [?]² and continued to the fountain of the waters of Nephtoah; 16. then the boundary descended to the end of the range which lies east of

¹ 'Together with the cities, etc., The verse is assigned by Dillm. to P, by Wellh. and Driver to the older history. The language is that of P ('their villages'); the method of enumerating cities is perhaps characteristic of the older history. On the whole the verse reads like a conglomerate from the hand of the final editor.

² 'Westward.' This is contrary to fact and the statement cannot have been intended by the writer. The fountain of Nephtoah was east of Kiriath-jearim (see xv. 9); yet Dillmann's translation, 'reaching there its extreme west point,' cannot be got from the Hebrew as it stands. The text is very uncertain. The LXX. has 'the south district shall start from the district of Kiriath-baal' (probably the true reading, though the place intended is the same) 'and the boundary shall continue to Gazein' (or Gazin or Gain).

the valley of the son of Hinnom [and] which is north of the valley of Rephaim. Then it descended into the valley of Hinnom the south of the ridge of the Jebusites and continued to En-rog 17. And it bent northwards and continued to En-shemesh and proceeded to Geliloth which is opposite the ascent of Adumm and went down to the stone of Bohan son of Reuben, 18. and passed along to the ridge over against the steppe on the north of it and went down to the steppe. 19. Then the boundary passed to the ridge of Beth-hoglah keeping to the north of it, and the boundary ended at the bay of the Sea of Salt at the north end of it at the southern extremity of the Jordan. This was the boundary on the south. 20. But the Jordan formed the boundary on the eastern side. This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin according to their clans with its boundary all round.

21. Now the cities of the tribe of the children of Benjamin according to their clans were Jericho and Beth-hoglah and Em Keziz 22. and Beth-arabah and Zemaraim and Beth-el 23. and Avvim and Parah and Ophrah, 24. and Chephar-ammoni and Ophni and Geba, twelve cities with their villages; 25. Gibeon and Ramah and Beeroth 26. and Mizpeh and Chephirah and Mozah 27. and Rekem and Irpeel and Taralah 28. and Zelah Eleph and the Jebusite [city], that is Jerusalem, Gibeath and Kiriath; fourteen cities with their villages. This was the inheritance of the children of Benjamin according to their clans.

TERRITORIES OF THE OTHER TRIBES.

XIX. 1^b. [Then the lot was cast] for the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their clans and their inheritance was in the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah. 2. Now they had as their inheritance Beer-sheba¹ and Moladah 3. and

¹ 'Beer-sheba.' This name is followed in the Massoretic text by 'Sheba' (not as translated in the Revised Version 'or Sheba'). The name wanting in some Hebrew manuscripts, and would make the number of cities fourteen.

Hazar-shual and Balah and Ezem 4. and Eltolad and Bethul and Hormah 5. and Ziklag and Beth-marcaboth and Hazar-susah 6. and Beth-lebaoth and Sharuhén, thirteen cities with their villages; 7. Ain, Rimmon and Ether and Ashan, four cities with their villages. 8^b. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Simeon according to their clans.

10^b. [Next the lot fell] for the [tribe of] the children of Zebulun according to their clans, and the boundary of their inheritance went to Sarid, 11. and their boundary went up westwards to Maralah and touched Dabbesheth and reached to the ravine that is before Jokneam 12. and turned from Sarid eastward towards the sunrise to the territory of Chisloth-tabor and continued to Daberath and rose to Japhia 13. and thence passed on the east side to Gath-hepher, to Eth-kazin and continued to Rimmon and bent¹ towards Neah. 14. Then the boundary turned round it to the north of² Hannathon and ended at the valley of Iphtah-el. 16. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Zebulun according to their clans, the cities and their villages.

17. [And the lot fell] for the children of Issachar according to their clans. 18. And their boundary was to Jezreel and Chesulloth and Shunem 19. and Hapharaim and Shion and Anaharath 20. and Rabbith and Kishion and Ebez 21. and Remeth and En-gannim and En-haddah and Beth-pazzez 22. and the boundary reached to Tabor and Shahhazumah and Beth-shemesh and their border ended at the Jordan; sixteen cities and their villages. 23. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Issachar in their clans, the cities with their villages.

24. [And the lot fell] for the tribe of the children of Asher according to their clans . . . 26. and it reached to Carmel at the sea and Shihor-libnath 27. and turned in the direction of the

¹ 'And bent.' A slight emendation of the text suggested by Dillm. has been made here.

² 'To the north of.' So Pesh. and many Hebrew manuscripts.

sunrising to Beth-dagon and reached to Zebulun and the valley of Iphtah-el in the north, Beth-emek and Neiel and continued northwards to Cabul. 29. Then the boundary turned to Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre: then the boundary turned to Hos and ended at the sea . . . to Achzib.¹ 31. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Asher in their clans, these cities with their villages.

32^b. [And the lot fell] for the children of Naphtali according to their clans. 33. And their boundary ran from Heleph the terebinth at Zaanannim and Adami-nekeb and Jabnath Lakkum, and it ended at the Jordan. 34. Then the boundary turned westward at Aznoth-tabor and continued thence to Hukkok and reached Zebulun on the south and reached the Jordan on the west and the Jordan on the east.² 39. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Naphtali according to their clans, the cities and their villages.

40^b. [The lot fell] to the tribe of the children of Dan according to their clans. . . . 48. This was the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Dan according to their clans, the cities and their villages.

51. These were the inheritances which Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and the ancestral heads of the tribes of the children of Israel apportioned by lot in Shiloh before YHWH at the entrance of the tent of meeting. And so they finished the division of the land.

THE CITIES OF REFUGE.³

XX. 1. Then Yahweh spoke to Joshua, saying, 2. Speak to

¹ 'At the sea . . . to Achzib.' The Massoretic text has, 'At the sea to the district to Achzib.' Something must have fallen out, and here again the reading is quite uncertain.

² The Massoretic reading, 'and Judah at the Jordan,' is unintelligible and corrupt.

³ 'Cities of Refuge.' Here the style of P is abundantly manifest: in some of the characteristic expressions are simply repeated from the P ordinance on cities of refuge, Num. xxxv. But the Massoretic text contains

children of Israel, saying, Appoint for yourselves the cities of refuge of which I spoke to you through Moses, 3. that the homicide who has slain a man unintentionally may flee there, and they shall provide you with a refuge from the avenger of blood. 7. So they set apart Kedesh in Galilee in the hill country of Naphtali and Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim and Kiriath-arba, that is Hebron, in the hill country of Judah.

ditional matter which in style and idea follows the Deuteronomical legislation. Thus in ver. 3 the formula of P, 'unintentionally,' is followed by that of the Deuteronomist (iv. 42, xix. 4), viz., 'unawares.' Then after ver. 3 three verses follow which are closely modelled on the style of Deuteronomy, though at the same time they contain a feature peculiar to the Priestly Code, viz. that the involuntary homicide is to remain in exile till the death of the High Priest. The verses are as follows:

'4. And he shall flee to one of these cities (Deut. xix. 5, iv. 42), and shall stand at the entrance of the gate of the city and shall state his case in the hearing of the elders of that city (Deut. xix. 12, xxi. 3, etc.), and they shall take him (קָדַם as in Deut. xxii. 2) with them into the city and shall appoint him a place that he may dwell with them. 5. And if the avenger of blood follow after him (Deut. xix. 6), they shall not deliver up (same word as in Deut. xxiii. 16) the homicide into his power, since he slew his neighbour unawares (Deut. xix. 4) and was not his enemy in times past' (the same idiomatic phrase, 'yesterday and the day before that,' as in Deut. xix. 4, 6). 6. 'And he shall dwell in this city till he stands before the congregation for judgment' (here the language is that of P but the judgment is already settled according to ver. 5) 'till the death of the High Priest' (another limit of time contradicting that which immediately precedes) 'who shall be in those days' (Deut. xvii. 9, xix. 17, xxvi. 3); 'then the homicide may return and enter his own city and his own house, the city from which he has fled.'

The thought and language of P supply the original texture, and to this an embroidery is added in the style of Deuteronomy. We cannot suppose that the author of Deuteronomy was acquainted with P and on this occasion adopted and altered a section of his work. Such a theory would of course involve the abandonment of the position maintained throughout this work, that P wrote long after the publication of Deuteronomy. But apart from this such a supposition would be contrary to all analogy, and is summarily rejected, not only by Wellh., Kuen., etc., but by Dillm. who maintains that the Priestly code is earlier in date than Deuteronomy. The LXX. supplies the explanation needed. The words just given in this note and omitted in our text are not to be found in the LXX. (B.). We may therefore conclude that they were interpolated at a very late period by a scribe familiar with the Hexateuch in its present form and anxious to convince the reader that all the requirements made with regard to the cities of refuge either in Numbers or Deuteronomy were satisfied in full by Joshua.

8. And beyond the Jordan¹ they appointed Bezer in the wilderness in the table-land from the tribe of Reuben, and Ram-gilead from the tribe of Gad, and Golan in Bashan from the tribe of Manasseh. 9. These were the cities appointed from all children of Israel and for the settler settled in their midst, any one who had slain a person unintentionally might flee thither and might escape death at the hand of the avenger of blood at such time as he had taken his stand before the congregation.

THE LEVITICAL CITIES.

XXI. 1. Then the ancestral heads of the Levites approached Eleazar the priest and Joshua the son of Nun and the ancestral heads of the tribes of the children of Israel, 2. and spoke to them in Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, Yahwè commanded through Moses that cities should be given us for habitation with their pasture-lands for our cattle. 3. So the children of Israel gave to the Levites out of their own inheritance according to Yahwè's command these cities with their pasture-lands.

4. And the lot went forth for the clan of the Kohathites, those Levites that were sons of Aaron the priest received by lot thirteen cities from the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Simeonites and the tribe of Benjamin. 5. But the rest of the sons of Kohath received by lot ten cities from the clans of the tribe of Ephraim and the tribe of Dan and the half tribe of Manasseh. 6. And the sons of Gershon received thirteen cities by lot from the clans of the tribe of Issachar and the tribe of Asher and the tribe of Naphtali and the half tribe of Manasse in Bashan. 7. The sons of Merari according to their clan received twelve cities from the tribe of Reuben and the tribe of Gad and the tribe of Zebulun. 8. So the children of Is-

¹ 'Beyond the Jordan.' The Massoretic text adds 'at Jericho eastward.' The words, which are needless and incorrect, are absent in the LXX., and are to be a mechanical repetition from Num. xxxiv. 15, made, perhaps, by a scribe in the margin. Or they may be due to the same writer who has already in this section been so zealous to attain the greatest possible fulness.

gave the Levites these cities with their pasture-lands by lot, as Yahwè had commanded through Moses. 9. And from the tribe of the children of Judah and from the tribe of the children of Simeon they gave the following cities which were mentioned by name; 10. and they belonged to the sons of Aaron from among the clans of the Kohathites who belonged to the children of Levi, for the lot was cast first for them. 11. And they gave them *the city of Arba¹ the father of Anak, that is Hebron in the hill country of Judah with its pasture-lands around it. But the territory of the city with its villages they gave to Caleb the son of Jephunneh as his possession.* 13. *And to the sons of Aaron the priest they gave the city of refuge for the homicide, Hebron with its pasture-lands.* 14. And Libnah with its pasture-lands and Jattir with its pasture-lands and Eshtemoa with its pasture-lands, 15. and Holon with its pasture-lands and Debir with its pasture-lands, 16. and Ashan² with its pasture-lands and Juttah with its pasture-lands, Beth-shemesh with its pasture-lands; nine cities from these two tribes. 17. And from the tribe of Benjamin, Gibeon with its pasture-lands, Geba with its pasture-lands, 18. Anathoth with its pasture-lands, Almon and its pasture-lands; four cities. 19. All the cities of the sons of Aaron, the priests, were thirteen with their pasture-lands.

20. And the clans of the children of Kohath the Levites, [*i.e.*] those that were left of the children of Kohath, had cities assigned them by lot from the tribe of Ephraim. 21. And they gave them the city of refuge for the homicide, Shcchem with its pasture-lands in the hill country of Ephraim, and Gezer with its pasture-

¹ The city of Arba.' Thence to the end of ver. 12 is an interpolation by the final editor, who desires to reconcile the unqualified statement of P, that Hebron was given to the priests, with the unqualified statement of the Jahvist (Josh. xv. 13 *seq.*, vol. i. p. 225), that it was taken by Caleb who became thereupon its legal owner. The Revised English by translating 'migrash' 'suburb' instead of 'pasture land' somewhat conceals the extreme clumsiness of this attempt to harmonise the two accounts.

² 'Ashan.' The reading adopted from the LXX. is confirmed by the parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. 44. Comp. Josh. xv. 42, xix. 7.

lands 22. and Kibzaim with its pasture-lands and Beth-h with its pasture-lands; four cities. 23. And from the tribe Dan Elteke with its pasture-lands, Gibbethon with its pasture-lands, 24. Aijalon with its pasture-lands, Gath-rimmon with pasture-lands; four cities. 25. And from the half tribe Manasseh Taanach with its pasture-lands and Jibleam¹ with pasture-lands; two cities. 26. All the cities of the rest of children of Kohath were ten with their pasture-lands.

27. And the children of Gershon belonging to the clan the Levites received from the half tribe of Manasseh the city of refuge for the homicide Golan in Bashan with its pasture-lands and Be-eshterah with its pasture-lands; two cities. 28. And from the tribe of Issachar Kishion with its pasture-lands, Dabath-gannim with its pasture-lands; four cities. 30. And from the tribe of Asher Mishal with its pasture-lands, Abdon with pasture-lands, 31. Helkath with its pasture-lands and Rehum with its pasture-lands; four cities. 32. And from the tribe of Naphtali the city of refuge for the homicide Kedesh in Galilee with its pasture-lands and Hammoth-dor with its pasture-lands and Kartan with its pasture-lands; three cities. 33. All the cities of the Gershonites according to their clans were thirteen with their pasture-lands.

34. And the clans of the children of Merari the Levites which were [still] left, received from the tribe of Zebulun Jokneam with its pasture-lands and Kartah with its pasture-lands, 35. Dimnah with its pasture-lands, Nahalal with its pasture-lands; four cities. 36. And from² the tribe of Reuben the city of refuge

¹ 'Jibleam.' The Massoretic text repeats by an error of the pen Gath-rimmon from the preceding verse. The true reading may be recovered from 'Iēpaōd of the LXX. and the Bileam of the parallel passage in 1 Chron. vi. two corrupt forms which contain and distort the original word.

² 'And from,' etc. Vv. 36 and 37 have been excluded from various editions beginning with that of Jacob Chaim in 1528. He was influenced by the authority of David Kimchi, and of the Massora Magna. They are found (though with slight variety of form) in the vast majority of Hebrew manuscripts.

for the homicide, Bezer with its pasture-lands and Jahaz with its pasture-lands, 37. Kedemoth with its pasture-lands and Mephaath with its pasture-lands; four cities. 38. And from the tribe of Gad, the city of refuge for the homicide Ramoth in Gilead with its pasture-lands and Mahanaim with its pasture-lands, 39. Heshbon with its pasture-lands, Jazer with its pasture-lands; four cities. 40. The different clans of the children of Merari, those of the Levite clans that were still left, received in all as their portion twelve cities. 41. All the cities of the Levites amidst the possession of the children of Israel came to forty-eight cities with their pasture-lands. 42. These cities were to include in each case the city with its pasture-lands round it: so it was with all the cities.

THE ALTAR BY THE JORDAN.¹

XXII. 9. *Then the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh returned and went from [the rest of the] children of Israel at Shiloh which is in the land of Canaan, that they might go to the land of Gilead to the land of their possession, wherein they had acquired possession according to Yahweh's command through Moses.* 10. *So when they came to the circles of the Jordan which are in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh*

as well as in the ancient versions, and are required to account for the enumeration in ver. 38. An elaborate discussion of the matter will be found in *De Rossi Var. Lect. V. 7*: ii. pp. 96-106.

¹ 'The altar by the Jordan.' Kuen. regards this passage, vv. 9-34, as a late production in the school and after the manner of P. He points out that while the characteristic marks of P occur, Wellh. is by no means justified in regarding the style as merely that of P, from which on the contrary this section sometimes diverges. Observe e.g. the word for tribe in vv. 9, 11, 13, 15, 21, (comp. on the other hand ver. 14). Further Kuen. calls attention to the resemblance in tone between this narrative and those of the Midianite war (Num. xxxi.), and of the reproaches addressed by Moses to the trans-Jordanic tribes (xxxii. 6-15.) He also notes the prominence of Phinehas. The narrative is evidently written with the object of accentuating the unity of worship as a point fixed in the consciousness of the people from the very beginning of their settlement in Canaan.

built there an altar by the Jordan, an altar great and con-
 11. *Then the children of Israel heard it said, Behold, the*
of Reuben and the children of Gad and the half tribe of M
have built the altar over against the land of Canaan at th
of the Jordan on the side opposite to the children of Isra
And when the children of Israel heard, all the congregatio
children of Israel gathered together at Shiloh, to march forth
them.

13. *Then the children of Israel sent to the children of*
and the children of Gad and the half tribe of Manasse
land of Gilead Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, 14.
princes with him, one prince for the families of each of t
of Israel, and these were ancestral heads of the thousands of
 15. *And they came to the children of Reuben and the chi*
Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh in the land of Gil
spoke with them, saying, 16. Thus say all the congreg
Israel, What is this treason you have committed against the
Israel, turning back this day from following Yawè, inas
you have built you an altar rebelling this day against
 17. *Is the iniquity of Peor too little for us, which a*
not purged away from us even now and [through wh
plague fell on the congregation of Yawè? 18. But ye
back this day from following Yawè, and it will come
that you rebel to-day against Yawè, and to-morrow he
wroth with all the congregation of Israel. 19. And beside
land you possess is unclean, cross over into the land which
possesses, where Yawè's tabernacle resides, and take pe
among us, but do not rebel against Yawè and do not rebel
us by building yourselves an altar besides the altar of Ya
God. 20. Did not Achan the son of Zerah commit treaso
matter of the ban, so that anger fell on the whole congre
nor was he the only man that perished by reason of his iniq
 21. *But the children of Reuben and the children of G*
the half tribe of Manasseh answered and said to the chief
thousands of Israel, 22. The mighty one, God, Yawè, the

one, God, Yahwè knows, and Israel shall know; if we have acted in rebellion or in treason against Yahwè, [then] do thou withdraw thy help from us this day! 23. so as to build ourselves an altar, thus turning back from following Yahwè: and if it be meant for offering burnt offering thereon or meal offering or for making peace offerings thereon, let Yahwè exact the penalty. 24. Nay, surely it was from fear of what might happen that we made it, thinking in time to come your sons will say thus to our sons, What have you to do with Yahwè, the God of Israel? 25. For Yahwè has set the Jordan as a boundary between us and you the sons of Reuben and the son of Gad; you have no portion in Yahwè: so your children will make ours cease from the fear of Yahwè. 26. Then we said, Let us make ourselves . . .¹ so as to build the altar, not for burnt offering or [other] sacrifice. 27. But it shall be a witness between us and you and our descendants after us that we are to perform the service of Yahwè in his presence² with our burnt offerings and sacrifices and peace offerings: lest your sons say to ours in time to come, You have no portion in Yahwè. 28. And we said, It shall be that if they speak [thus] to us and our descendants in time to come, then we shall say to them, See the model of Yahwè's altar which our fathers made, neither for burnt offering nor sacrifice, but to be a witness between us and you. 29. Far be that from us, that we should rebel against Yahwè and turn back at this time from following Yahwè, building an altar for burnt offering and meal offering and sacrifice apart from the altar of Yahwè our God which is before his tabernacle.

30. Now when Phinehas the priest and the princes of the congregation, the chiefs³ of the thousands of Israel who were

¹ 'Let us make ourselves.' The object of the verb has been dropped out of the text.

² 'In his presence,' i.e. at the central shrine.

³ 'The chiefs.' The Massoretic text has 'and the chiefs.' But in any case the copulative must be omitted, since the 'princes' and 'the chiefs' were the same persons. Perhaps with LXX. we should omit 'and the chiefs of the thousands' altogether, in which case of course the word for 'congregation' would have to be altered to the construct state.

with him heard the words which the children of Reuben the children of Gad and the children of Manasseh spoke were satisfied. 31. And Phinehas the son of Eleazar the said to the children of Reuben and of Gad and of Manasseh This day we know that Yawè is in the midst of us, for you have not committed this treason against Yawè. They have delivered the children of Israel from the hand of the Amorites. 32. So Phinehas son of Eleazar the priest and the spies returned from the children of Reuben and of Gad in the land of Gilead to the children of Israel in the land of Canaan and reported the matter to them. 33. And the children of Israel were satisfied about the matter, and the children of Israel blessed him and did not think of marching against them to waste the land in which the children of Reuben and Gad dwell. 34. And the children of Reuben and of Gad called the altar . . . ¹ for a sign between us that Yawè is the [true] God.

¹ 'Called the altar.' What? The text does not say, so that this must have fallen out of the text. The Pesh. and some Hebrew manuscripts insert 'ed,' i.e. 'They called the altar a witness.' Dillm. suggests the altar may have been called 'Gilead,' in which case we should have a parallel to Gen. xxxi. 47 seq.

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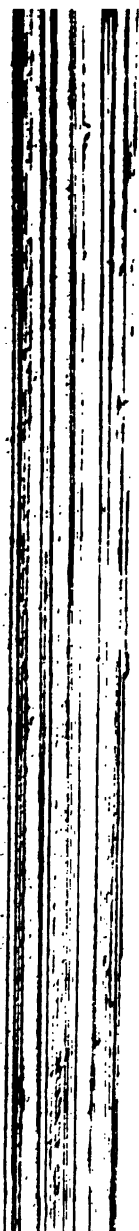
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